The Sons Of Freedom—*Paul Goodman*

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Rosemary Ruether a new church?

HOW TO STAY THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD
JAMES H. WEAVER

THE PROBLEM OF PIAGET
HANS G. FURTH

PLAYING AMERICAN ROULETTE
JOE RIGERT

PAUL RAMSEY'S JUST WAR
ROBERT H. SPRINGER

PHASING OUT MARY DALY
MICHAEL MALEC

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NEWS AND VIEWS

The grape-picker who testified in a West Coast court last month about sicknesses caused by agricultural pesticides was no nutty hypochondriac.

It isn't just bugs, bees, birds and the peregrine falcon that pesticides are cutting down. It's also people.

Ninety-five workers filed for workmen's compensation benefits in Kern County, California, in 1967 claiming pesticide poisoning, and, as was remarked, that figure was "only the tip of the iceberg."

In the U.S. as elsewhere, obviously. *Science Service*, for example, reports marked health disturbances among Russian farm workers exposed to DDT and other organo-chlorine pesticides. Complaints range from increased acid and pepsin secretion in the stomach, to upset of the liver function.

Francisco Mendoza told California's Kern County Superior Court his symptoms:

"Every summer when I'm involved in the harvest . . . I get pains in my stomach. I throw up, and I get headaches. Sometimes I get chills and have itching sensations over my entire body. My eyesight has been getting steadily worse, but when I work in the field my vision gets very bad."

Mendoza's testimony was in connection with a suit to force release of information on how and where pesticides were used in Kern County.

Cesar Chavez labels the sprays a deathtrap: "They call it dust or spray, but we call it poison. It's a subtle death, like quicksand. You don't know what's happening until it's too late."

Kern County Agricultural Commissioner C. Seldon Morely dismisses the idea. "Agricultural pesticides and chemicals are a way of American life today," he commented. "If it weren't for pesticides we would be having a lot of worms in our apples and everything else."

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Catholic publishers and booksellers in Britain, feeling the same bind as their American counterparts, met recently to probe their not-so-bright future.

According to the London *Tablet*, agreement was general that the purely Catholic retail shop would disappear, and that Catholic book dealers would have to offer a more varied fare in order to survive. (It was felt, however, that limits should be set, so that Frank Harris would not end up spine-to-spine with Bernard Häring.)

It was also agreed that religious groups should make a clearer distinction between the books and pamphlets they sell as part of their apostolate and straight trade books; that catechetical and other centers should not seek to finance their apostolates by playing bookseller; and that a more equitable arrangement had to be worked out on discount buying by institutions.

Finally, there was the feeling that publishers were not providing what the more popular side of the book market requires and that research should be undertaken to ascertain precisely what reading people really want.

The plight of Catholic book people in Britain is familiar. The *Tablet* words it thus: "Both publishers and booksellers have been very considerably affected by changing emphases in the Church following Vatican II, particularly by the virtual disappearance of the 'black book' (missals and prayer books) which for years had provided the staple fare of their trade."

•

The U.S. continues to be a major foot-dragger in the United Nations on international accords.

The convention on the elimination of racial discrimination went into effect March 13 carrying the ratification of 31 countries. The U.S. is not one of the 31.

In fact, of 16 UN human rights instruments, the United States has ratified only two—those on slavery and refugees.

It's not only a case of Presidents not submitting the conventions to the Senate for ratification; it's also inertia or recalcitrance on the part of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Five conventions, signed by the United States, have not even cleared that committee.

Among the items awaiting ratification by the U.S. is the convention barring genocide.

•

Chairman L. Mendel Rivers of the House Armed Services Committee is a man who takes care of his own.

The fine print of the *Congressional Record* recently revealed a junket of five committee secretaries to Spain, Italy, Germany and England—ostensibly to study American commissaries. Which is doing nice by the girls in the office.

But Rivers does far better by his constituency. Edward P. Morgan itemized precisely how much better in a March 16 Public Broadcasting Laboratory editorial:

"It is interesting . . . to inventory the military installations with which South Carolina's 1st Congressional District is blessed: Charleston, headquarters of the 6th Naval District, has a naval shipyard, weapons station, hospital, mine-warfare school, degaussing station, a fleet-training center, an Army wet-storage basin, and an Air Force base. Charleston is also the home port of a destroyer squadron and two squadrons of Polaris submarines. The area also contains a Marine Corps air station, a Marine recruit depot and another naval hospital. Two huge defense contractors, Avco and Lockheed, have located plants in Charleston. The area's annual military payroll is roughly $200 million."

The wonder accounting for this is, of course, the leg-up Rivers' chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee gives him in landing defense contracts. The competition among congressmen to swing these contracts to their constituency is so fierce that, in Morgan's words, it is imprecise to speak of a military-industrial complex. The term should be "the military-industrial-political complex."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Of Becker and Lorenz

Notre Dame

To the Editors: It is ungenerous of Ernest Becker ("The Evaded Question," Feb. 21) to reach conclusions similar to those of the biologist Konrad Lorenz, while implying all along that Lorenz is the new face of the old enemy—instinctualism. Even when Becker quotes Lorenz or Bertalanffy approvingly, he admits that "we don't listen to what the men are saying, but rather what they represent." Becker then substantiates this admission by showing that he has missed Lorenz's point, because he doesn't realize that Lorenz's findings are a complete turnabout from our previous evaluation of aggression in animals. We are all so anthropomorphic that we just assumed the animal world was full of mayhem, robbery, murder, and war—the same as the human world. What Lorenz and others like him did was to go look at the animal world with an unprejudiced eye. They were amazed to find that the animals have no analogs for war, murder, and unlimited expansion of power. They have instinctual complexes which prevent such activities. Territoriality in animals is not an aggressive instinct—it is not what Becker implies: a "fight to the death to protect his brood." Territoriality is a complex of instincts which *limits* the interactions of animals to ritual competition and *limits* by instinct the amount of land they use to an area reasonably well proportioned to their needs. If man had territorial instincts, he would have no war. Ardrey's "Territorial Imperative" is based on a misreading of Lorenz. The two authors reach opposite conclusions about the inevitability and desirability of war or about the perfectibility of man.

For those who have read Lorenz through the eyes of Ardrey or Becker, it must be emphasized again what Lorenz's discovery was—that the animal world is not a battleground of anti-social instincts. Man's "hateful destruc-

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EXERCISE IN HALF-MEASURE

The congressional hearings on the antiballistic missile defense system were bound to be painful. The semantics of the word-change—from Sentinel to Safeguard—and the scaling down of deployment sites to two—for the time being—could not alter the facts of the essential ineffectualness of the system and the disruptive effect it would have on the world's already uneasy military balances. Then there was Defense Secretary Melvin Laird; his testimony would be an embarrassment—and, indeed, it was. Senator Fulbright finally accused Laird of indulging in "a kind of technique of fear" in the effort to sell his package, which seemed a suave way of spearing Laird for his politics of pessimism and his penchant for libeling all the intentions of all so-called adversary nations.

But even as the worst of the missile hearings was endured, there was the consolation that the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee was reconvening. And whereas the U.S. team from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency could not undo in Geneva the mistakes being made in Washington, it could at least offset them by continuing the initiatives for peace which had produced the test ban and hot-line treaties, the agreement to preserve outer space for peaceful purposes and the nuclear non-proliferation pact. That would salvage part of the American image.

But a funny thing happened on the way to the conference hall. Russia broadened its anticipated proposal about banning nuclear weapons from seabeds and ocean floors, on which there is no basic problem, to include military installations generally, on which, it became instantly apparent, there is strenuous objection. In a situation where public attitudes and postures are so important, U.S. officials reacted not just negatively, but as though confronted with a *fait accompli*. Suddenly Pentagon officials were wondering

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crazily how the Navy would anchor ships and how defense messages could be transmitted via ocean cables.

It was a delicious moment for Russia, one made the more so by the awkward response of the usually sophisticated Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Having presented to the conference a message from President Nixon piously exclaiming that "efforts toward peace by all nations must be comprehensive," ACDA officials hurried into retreat, narrowing the meaning of comprehensive and, thereby, markedly circumscribing U.S. understanding about arms control. "I am inclined to doubt that we would have very much interest in a treaty which would eliminate the possibility of any military use of the seabed," declared the new ACDA chief Gerard C. Smith. The press quickly made clear why: the U.S. is already vastly deployed militarily under the seas, within territorial waters and also in distant places like the Strait of Gibraltar and the Strait of Malacca. There is no intention, obviously, to negotiate on such installations as these.

Thus in Geneva, as at the missile hearings in Washington, was the U.S. commitment to arms control, and thus to peace, exposed as measured and self-serving. The nervous nationalism of Washington was not surprising but somehow one expected from the ACDA something positive, not only because of the agency's history of altruism, not only because it frequently, if unofficially, has been in advance of official positions, but also because its world is the world of debate and negotiation, where a proposal is a proposal and possibilities are never shut off in the moment of their articulation. However sweeping the Russian proposal, the objectives it envisions must be shared by the U.S. and worked toward; that is, if Mr. Nixon's use of the word comprehensive means anything.

It is difficult to fathom the negativeness of U.S. officials in Geneva. True, it was the first time that the ACDA team was convened under leadership other than that of William C. Foster, who headed the agency from its establishment in 1961 until his retirement, at 71, last December 31. On the other hand, new chief Gerard Smith is no stranger to what Geneva is all about. In the 1950s, he was the State Department's senior advisor on atomic and disarmament policies; he was active in the 1957 disarmament proposals; he was credited personally by President Kennedy for the hot-line idea; he was involved in developing nuclear test ban policies. Gerard Smith is an able man with impressive credentials.

The worry, therefore, is less that the new posture in Geneva results from a change-over in ACDA command, or that it is a parrying for time necessitated by the surprise of the Russian proposal; the worry is that it is an extension to arms control and disarmament of the increasingly apparent and ultimately futile Nixon proclivity to deal in half-measures. With arms control as with any number of other issues, Mr. Nixon must realize that half-commitment is no commitment—and no answer to the challenges facing him and the world.

RIPPLING THE WAVES

Broadcasting Magazine, the trade weekly of the radio and television industry, has never particularly liked FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson. In two recent editorials, however, the publication blew its cool altogether. On February 17, *Broadcasting* lamented that "The pressure is so great these days at the FCC that an erstwhile reasonably, safe majority has lost control to a makeshift radical minority. . . ."

"It is shameful," the editorial continued, "that at the root of most of the trouble making is Nick Johnson, who in his two-and-one-half years as a commissioner has made a fetish of throwing sand in the FCC machinery. . . . This brash, 34-year-old self-anointed savior who was removed from his last job as maritime administrator, jams the FCC processing lines with his dissents, automatically opposes routine renewals, personally woos reporters, editors, and pundit-columnists. . ."

Translation: Commissioner Johnson has thrown a monkey-wrench into the characteristic, cozy system, in which FCC was traditionally a branch of the industry it is charged with supervising, as most regulatory commissions are. Nicholas Johnson is only one commissioner out of seven. But, unlike most decorative liberals on regulatory commissions, he has broken the cardinal rule of the power game by taking his case before a broader public constituency. Hence, to *Broadcasting*, Johnson "personally woos reporters, editors, and pundit-columnists." By doing so, Johnson has shamed one or two and occasionally a majority of his fellow commissioners into representing the public, rather than the industry, interest. *Broadcasting*'s cherished "routine renewals" are actually held up once in a while. Mediocre programming, and TV violence have become an issue. Unlike former Commission Chairman Newton Minow, who could speak of a "wasteland" but accomplish few tangible changes, Johnson has managed to alter FCC policy for the better.

The Commission has proposed a rule limiting licensees to one ownership per market; it is encouraging new applicants to challenge stodgy licensees at renewal time. It has announced an inquiry into conglomerate ownership. It has proposed a ban on cigarette advertising. None of this is terribly radical, yet it has apparently thrown the industry into a panic.

In a subsequent editorial February 24, entitled "The Case Against Nicholas Johnson," *Broadcasting* came up with a bright idea to silence Commissioner Johnson. The editorial cited several of his recent articles on the low quality of commercial television, his encouragement of appearances before the FCC by groups representing the public, rather than the traditional special interests, and so forth. From this, concluded *Broadcasting*, Johnson has "disqualified himself from a number of cases now pending before the agency."

This, of course, is nonsense. In none of his articles or

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utterances did Johnson comment on pending cases, but on completed cases or general principles. The industry, it appears, is bent on making Johnson an untouchable. If, by this kind of name-calling, it can convince his more moderate allies on the Commission that he is a radical or a kook, Johnson will be rendered the token dissenting vote, which traditionally has been the role of tamer Commission liberals who knew their place. Especially vulnerable to this tactic is H. Rex Lee, the liberal Republican Commissioner who wants to be reappointed. The industry may cash in its credits with President Nixon by asking for veto power over appointments. The FCC, at long last, has begun to step out of "place." To a lesser degree, so have the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), but under a Republican administration, this all may be short-lived.

Few eyebrows were raised in the Capital when the retiring Chairman of the Federal Aviation Agency became president of American Airlines; or the retired FCC Chairman represented a network before his former colleagues; or the Mass Transportation Administrator secured a lucrative grant for a railroad which then hired him as an executive. This is the way the system works.

Nicholas Johnson, formerly a Washington attorney, is one of a minority of regulatory commissioners with no ties to the industry he is charged with regulating. It would be salutary if more commissioners were representatives of only the public. And it would be most encouraging to see more sputtering editorials in trade publications.

TIME, INC. ON TOUR

Time's weekly masquerade as a newsmagazine is an incorrigible given of the American press. Ultimately predictable and irretrievably WASP, *Time*men happily create a world in their own incorporated image. Since few beyond the lower reaches of the silent middle submit to the massage, this highly managed medium wants for measurable impact.

Selective pockets of influence can be found, however, among the millionaire executive complex. These are the fellows *Time* delights in touring around the world in pursuit of information and insight into foreign countries. Publisher James Shepley's letter [March 7] records a recent trip of 25 businessmen to the Far East—with principal stop in Vietnam. Here's how the log went: war briefing in Hawaii, conferences with Amb. Bunker and Gen. Abrams, *tête-à-tête* with Thieu, a low-flying bomber excursion through the Vietnamese countryside, etc.

Is this any way to run a military-industrial?

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INCIDENT AT BOSTON COLLEGE

PHASING OUT MARY DALY

Jesuit-run Boston College is presently experiencing a crisis precipitated by the release of Dr. Mary Daly, theologian, teacher, and author of *The Church and the Second Sex* and other publications.

A few months ago, upon the recommendation of the chairman of the theology department, Dr. Daly applied for a promotion, and tenure. Both Dr. Daly and her chairman agreed that she met all objective criteria for promotion: she holds seven degrees, including three doctorates; she is well published; and she is thought of by her students as a rare and stimulating teacher. It therefore came as a complete surprise to Dr. Daly, to her students, and to many faculty members when her application was refused and she was given a one-year nonrenewable contract; in short, she was fired.

When news of the firing got around to her students, a number of them began to circulate a petition among the scholars of the college, Wilson Fellows and honors students, protesting her dismissal. This initial petition later snowballed into a university-wide petition signed by 2500 students and presented to the president of the college, Very Rev. W. Seavey Joyce, S.J., on March 19. Initially, Father Joyce refused to comment, pointing out that the material involved in the case was of a confidential nature and that denial of tenure does not imply anything more than the fact that the university "in reviewing its total situation, is not prepared to embark on a permanent relationship" with Dr. Daly. Father Joyce's statement ignored the issue of the firing of Dr. Daly (most local accounts of the affair have also ignored the fact that Dr. Daly will not be in the "up or out" category until 1972).

In the week of March 12 to 19, a number of other events occurred in response to the firing. A member of the speech department resigned in protest. At least two members of the various committees which deal with promotions resigned from those committees. The Undergraduate Government Congress passed a resolution condemning the administration's actions, called for a reopening of the case, and appealed to the senior class to refrain from contributing to the Senior Gift Fund, which normally could be expected to raise about $150,000. The Arts and Sciences Student Senate passed an even more forceful resolution.

These events reached a climax on the evening of the 19th at the meeting of the University Academic Senate, a body composed of faculty, administrators and students.

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A student-senator introduced a resolution calling for a reopening of the case. This resolution did not question the integrity of the administration, nor did it raise the issue of academic freedom. It simply asked for a review. The resolution was defeated, 35 to 11. The students' behavior thus far has been nothing short of exemplary. There has been no disruption of university life. Only legitimate channels have been explored. Order, reason, responsibility, and restraint have been the students' bywords. Perhaps the most unfortunate thing about the entire affair is that these efforts have been frustrated by the administration, which, to the students, seems to have adopted the tactic of "say nothing and it'll go away."

There are several issues involved in this affair. One is the antiquated promotion and tenure process, which, to the administration's credit, is presently being revamped. The students are seeking a voice in the new procedures.

A second issue is the firing itself. No one, not even the administration, had denied Dr. Daly's qualifications as a teacher or writer. Since her qualifications are so impressive, many students feel that she was fired because she says what she thinks and because she has been openly critical of certain theological positions dear to some older, conservative Jesuits.

A related issue focuses on the nature and quality of the theology department. Last fall 2600 students signed a petition requesting the abolition of all theology course requirements. Many students feel that most of their theology courses are irrelevant and poorly taught. Dr. Daly's courses were to many students a happy exception.

A fourth issue is that of the relation between the students and administration. Up to this point these relations have been good. The students have a 25 percent vote on the Academic Senate. Students are represented on many university committees. Advances have been made in the areas of coeducational, black studies, and the number of required theology courses (reduced recently from four to three). One end-result of the Daly affair may be that this good relationship will be weakened. Many students no longer trust or have confidence in the administration. The administration has appealed to the students to have faith in its actions. However, many students feel that the administration has placed little faith in the actions of the students. As an example of this breach of faith, one student noted Father Joyce's statement that he cannot reconsider the Daly case, since "no substantial evidence" had been brought forward which would suggest that reconsideration was reasonable. Yet, Father Joyce has chosen not to act on the "evidence" of the 2500 student signatures on a petition requesting that the university retain a teacher whom the students want.

A fifth issue, one most painful to the administration, is the image of Boston College. Father Joyce, in office since last September, has made it clear that he wants a truly excellent theology department and university, and until now he has been reasonably successful in pursuit of this goal. The firing of Dr. Daly may now make it difficult for him to recruit excellent scholars to his campus for some time to come.

The administration contends that the students have oversimplified the issues involved. Specifically it is claimed that the students do not fully appreciate the many factors that enter into a decision about promotion and tenure. Meanwhile, the students only know that a vital number of the theology department has been fired.

Having exhausted all reasonable attempts, the students are not now clear on their plans. An "academic day of withdrawal" has been suggested, as has a long-term boycott of the theology department. In any event, it does not seem likely that the issue will just go away.

MICHAEL MALEC

(Professor Malec teaches sociology at Boston College.)

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CAUTIOUS, FIRM AND AGING

THE PRUDENTIAL MR. TITO

Two Communist gatherings in mid-March confirmed once again the irreparable rupture of Communist unity which is, of course, one of the salient facts of our own epoch. Brezhnev, Kosygin and Defense Minister Marshal Grechko, representing the growing military factor in Soviet policy, met in Budapest for only two-and-a-half hours with the leaders of the East European satellites to issue a vague and strangely irrelevant call for an all-European security meeting at a time of bitter, and now bloody, Sino-Soviet confrontation along the Manchurian-Siberian border. Of course, the blithe irrelevance of the communiqué was caused by the refusal of the Rumanians, and the reluctance of the Czechoslovaks and Hungarians, to condemn Chinese "aggression" against the Soviet Union.

The other important gathering of Communists took place in Belgrade, scarcely 200 miles away, where President Tito opened the Ninth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia with a long recitation of the amazing successes of the Yugoslav Communist movement since its founding in 1919.

The lineup of the parties attending and boycotting the Yugoslav Congress sharply delineated the disarray in the Communist world movement, the hostility of almost all the ruling Communist parties towards Yugoslavia, and Yugoslavia's awkward isolation in Eastern Europe. The Chinese, the Albanians, the Cubans and the Soviets and

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their client parties were obviously all absent, except for the Rumanians who once again dared defy the Kremlin. The powerful, pro-Soviet French Communist party, which has found itself in a painful predicament since the invasion of Czechoslovakia, was represented at the congress by a lonely "observer." Those attending were the various Asian, African, Latin American and West European Communist and Socialist movements.

If the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia carried an unmistakable message for Tito, it was that the Soviets, no longer able to dominate Eastern Europe by economic pressure and the prestige of their ideological authority, were determined to retain their imperium by exercising brutal military power.

This danger could not be, and was not, ignored by Tito and the Yugoslav congress. Always a man of caution and an unerring political instinct, Tito in his speech avoided any direct attack on the Soviet leadership and limited to the written version of his report all references to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, which had caused the new and dangerous deterioration in Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

Tito mildly expressed regret that the Czechoslovak delegates were not present in Belgrade, omitting to say that they had been prevented from coming by the peremptory orders of Brezhnev himself. In reporting the manifestations of 5,000 Czech youths in favor of Tito, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug did not mention the anti-Brezhnev and anti-Soviet slogans that reverberated through Prague.

Clearly Tito was trying to dampen the quarrel with the Soviets and avoided giving any provocation to the leadership of collective and brutal mediocrity in the Kremlin. At the same time Tito stubbornly defended Yugoslavia's independence and her separate road to Socialism and rejected, without naming it, the Brezhnev doctrine under which the Soviets claim the right to intervene in all Communist countries in the higher interest of world Communism (read, of Soviet hegemony). Tito alluded only obliquely to possible sinister Soviet designs towards Yugoslavia by recalling that in the 1920s, the Comintern advocated the dismemberment of the Yugoslav state.

The Yugoslavs have regarded a Soviet attack with their own forces or by the proxy of their Bulgarian satellite as a distinct possibility since the Czechoslovak invasion. The danger seems all the more real in view of the Soviet naval buildup in the Mediterranean, President Nixon's determination to meet at the summit with Brezhnev and Kosygin, possibly this summer, and the uncertainty of the U.S. response should Yugoslavia's integrity be threatened. The Yugoslavs fear that it would be easy for Nixon to make an arrangement with Brezhnev at the expense of Rumania and Yugoslavia, all the more so since the former is located in the clearly recognized Soviet zone of domination and Yugoslavia was placed by former Secretary of State Dean Rusk in the "grey" zone outside the sphere of U.S. power in Western Europe.

Currently the first line of Yugoslavia's defense lies along the River Prut (forming the Soviet-Rumanian border). In Yugoslav judgment, the Soviets would first have to completely subjugate Rumania before moving against Yugoslavia and for this reason Tito has strongly encouraged Ceausescu of Rumania to resist Soviet demands for Warsaw Pact "maneuvers" on Rumanian soil.

But Tito obviously believes that the best insurance of Yugoslavia's independence lies in its own determination to resist aggression. This conviction has led to the formation of local guerrilla units in all of Yugoslavia's six republics both to strengthen Yugoslavia's fighting capacity and to serve warning on the Kremlin that the resistance would be so stubborn and protracted that it would be impossible to limit the war merely to Yugoslav territory.

From the point of view of internal Yugoslav affairs the Belgrade Congress once again confirmed the absolute primacy and ascendancy of Tito. The establishment of a new 15-man Executive Committee of the Presidium has brought certain interesting and on the whole positive changes in the composition and structure of party leadership but has not solved the moot question of Tito's succession. The two principal leaders of Croatia, Dr. Vladimir Bakaric and Miko Tripalo, are included in the Executive Committee, and so are the two top leaders of Macedonia. But the leader of Slovenia, Stane Kavcic, apparently declined membership and Marko Nikezic, the able and cosmopolitan President of the Serbian party, has not been included. Outside the party pale remains the prodigal son of Yugoslav Communism, Milovan Djilas, who may yet be a contender for Tito's mantle.

Though the Congress reaffirmed the Party's determination to push on with the economic reform establishing a market economy and the policy of gradual democratization and workers' self-management, it did not offer any new solutions for the crucial problems facing Yugoslavia, such as the massive unemployment, particularly in the industrially advanced areas, the problem of establishing an effective federal state structure, and the unacceptable concentration of most of the nation's investment capital in the hands of a few Belgrade banks.

Surely the best guarantor of Yugoslavia's continued existence as a state and her ability to overcome internal stresses and external pressures lies in the extraordinary man who recreated Yugoslavia in World War II and has led it ever since, gaining international prestige far exceeding the objective importance of Yugoslavia. Tito, at 77, remains as vigorous, energetic, astute and irreplaceable as ever. In that sense he is a leader who does not and cannot have an heir and successor.

MATTHEW M. MESTROVIC

(Matthew M. Mestrovic teaches European History at Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey.)

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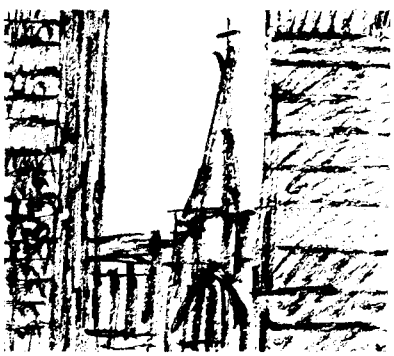
A NEW CHURCH?

Searching for a new style and a new form

ROSEMARY RUETHER



Is there to be a new church? Are Christians today experiencing a new outpouring of the Spirit, impelling them forward along uncharted paths, dissolving and reforming the shape of the church? It is always difficult to reflect on a process while we are involved in it. At the present moment I am not at all sure of the direction of the present stirrings in the church. It is not at all clear whether these are signs of a new beginning or of the last death rattle. Something new must be happening. Otherwise the forces of resistance to change in the church would not be so frightened, so anxious to get the lid back on the box. The world marvels because the Dutch have a representative church council. I think that is a rather good eighteenth century sort of achievement; that is to say, it should have happened a long time ago. The Pope views democracy in the church with alarm and campaigns against the intolerably radical bishops and theologians of that small country, but the young people at the Dutch council thought that the concerns of those radical bishops and theologians were intolerably parochial. The distance between these extremes is very wide, very wide indeed; out of sight, so to speak. The good liberal who once marched at the head of the advancing parade of progress now clings desperately to either side of a fissure which is splitting open along an ancient earthquake fault.

The Council appeared startlingly progressive when it ventured into the hitherto Protestant waters of "ecumenicism." Church professionals began to sit down together, armed with their traditional creeds and polities and trade points with each other. Yet what has really appeared from this is the irrelevance of those ancient disputes. Such discussions do not belong to the living ecumenical movement which has left this kind of professional dialogue behind for the simple reason that the Christians in it have more or less transcended their denominational identities.

I myself find it is less and less appropriate to describe myself as a Roman Catholic. I am a post-Roman Catholic, and there are many people today who are post-Roman or post-Protestant Christians. They look back to their heritage as a part of a past self. They are not unconcerned about the communities from which they have come, but in terms of where they are, they are beyond the limits of these traditions, searching for a new style and a new form for being the church. It is in this situation that they come together in the living ecumenical movement, not as an "inter-faith" group, but as a group in search of a new faith who find that, in this quest, they already have a community of faith together; indeed much more so than with the traditionalists from X denomination.

In this essay I would like, very tentatively, to sketch a couple of ways such new Christians are trying to live the new church. Radical movements for social change in church and society seem to have spawned two views which are separated from each other not so much in ultimate values and goals as in the means and style. We might distinguish them by calling them "the boys in the battle jackets" and the "boys in the beads."

The boys in the battle jackets are suspicious of establishment politics, but they are still fundamentally political in their orientation. They still think in terms of programs, power and structural change. The political revolutionary has been around for a few centuries now, and so far he has no blessed new earth to show for it. He begins by project-

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ing radical transformation and when he is successful he is likely to get a system which is just as oppressive as the old one, only more efficient. The revolutionaries know that, and that is why, I presume, they wish to call themselves the "New Left"; to disassociate themselves from the failures of the "Old Left." They are groping for some more fundamental critique which will get at not only the surface but the underlying assumptions upon which oppressive structures are based.

The virtue of the political left for church reform is that they do take social structures seriously. They know that you don't change people's consciousness until you change the social structures in which they live and which incarnate and perpetuate this false consciousness. This is the defect of the Catholic liberal. He thinks you can change consciousness in the church without grappling with the social structures. He assumes that if you change the consciousness, the structures will change themselves. But the structures do not change themselves, because the old guard who man these structures are precisely the ones most irreformably committed to the old consciousness. The two are indissolubly linked together.

Here Marx correctly insisted on the "unity of theory and practice." The theory is the expression of the practice. The two stand or fall together. Consequently if those who want a new consciousness in the church are really serious, they will begin to think about how you make a political revolution in the church. Here is one suggestion: the representative councils of the people could explore the legal titles to the church property and make a case for the position that they, as the people, own this property. They would explore the possibility of an economic revolution by which they could evict their hierarchy and their minions. Then, meeting in a representative synod of the people, they could draw up a new constitution and elect new leaders who would be responsible to these councils. Could Catholics do that (Yeeks! without Daddy's permission!!)? Obviously not. They are not really ready to project real self-determination. But we need to get people thinking unthinkable thoughts.

So much for the boys in the battle jackets. Now let's look at the boys in the beads. These lads are suspicious not only of establishment politics, but of politics *per se*. Anything that looks like organization, structure or institution disaffects them. They are the utopian anarchists who want a world in which objective forms have vanished and spontaneous love is all that is needed to hold the world together.

The utopian anarchists are out of their minds. They are also very Biblical. That is just what Jesus and all the prophets were proclaiming as well. "Behold, says the Lord. I will make a New Heaven and a New Earth, and the world of war and sweat and tears will vanish away. They shall beat their swords into plowshares; the lion will lay down with the lamb and the little child will lead them."

This is the Biblical vision, and it is intended quite literally. This is the vision of a whole new type of world and new type of humanity where alienation is overcome. The alienation of man from his fellow man and the alienation of man from himself that is expressed in social structures which he projects and which then entrap him; all this will be reversed. Man will return to himself and can then act in direct spontaneity without any intervening structures of thought or society to separate him from all others. This is Karl Marx's vision of the classless society—it belongs to the same Biblical vision. This is the vision which rises up ever anew within and out beyond all programs for social change.

In recent years this quixotic demand for the radically new world has again appeared—we have seen it in the hippies in particular. This same spirit also infects the liturgical 'underground.' In this movement there is a thirst for inward experience, a cry against the emptiness of soul of modern life, an attempt to open the psyche and restore its lost contact with God.

The hippie ethos moves easily into the liturgical left wing because it has a tremendous sense of the eucharistic, celebrational dimension. It has a sense of life as play, a celebration danced for its own sake and not as a means to any pragmatic end. Leisure, play, contemplation; a rejoicing in being rather than doing, these have emerged as powerful themes which will doubtless continue to take new forms. In a community of play with no visible means of support and no productive purpose, where all share what they have with no thought for the morrow, a blow is struck against the foundations of the American faith. Why? Because this faith has been stripped of its sentimentality and revealed in its hypocrisy, fed upon white supremacy and breeding war, tending to the ultimate destruction of human values.

Radical Christianity

In a society where most of the national budget goes for war potential, the flower child makes his desperate protest. All the instruments of this society have become stained by the ambiguity, and so the radical despairs of using these to change this same society. Power corrupts and the flower child longs to be rid of this corrupt world and spring into the Pure Land. Rejecting political methods, he projects the possibility of starting from the other side, by raising up a new kind of community and projecting here and now a new possibility. As a utopian he thinks himself out beyond the present situation altogether to a place where he can really project a new alternative of the sort which cannot even be imagined as long as one is involved in trying to move the present situation step by step within its own presuppositions. It is here that the utopian has his greatest validity, even his greatest "practicality."

These are two aspects of a radical style in society

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which are easily perceived in the Christian theological framework from which they have sprung. For this reason we can also speak of them as a radical Christianity. They are radical, not in the sense of being extreme, but in the sense of reaching down to the root, getting to the fundamentals. Many themes, such as the resistance of the church to the world; the church as an overcoming of the world, which had been discredited through misinterpretation in traditional Christianity, suddenly burst into new life here, restored to their original and true meaning.

There is no tinge of Platonism here. Radical Christianity is thoroughly secular, thoroughly incarnational, thoroughly committed to this world as the only sphere of man's redemption. Its sense of the gospel and the church are wholly humanistic. It is not interested in ideas of Christ or the Kingdom except as an expression of man. It is not interested in the church, community or eucharist except as an expression of man. As a result its sense of the church should not be confused with any conformity to traditional forms of ecclesiasticism, but rather stand as a protest against the ecclesiastical institution.

The ecclesiastical institution has falsely usurped the symbols of the church and created a gigantic power structure in their name, while simultaneously banishing the truth of these symbols from its midst. The institution must be radically demythologized in order that the real meaning of the church can be reborn again in the hearts of men. Therefore the radical Christian claims for himself the realities of community, ministry, liturgy and celebration, but refuses the claim of the institution to tie these to its sacred script, sacred personnel and sacred spaces. He insists that the real Eucharist is the one celebrated in the real contexts of the dying and rising of God's world; not the one fabricated by hierarchical powers and principalities.

This point of view is growing among the Catholic left, and, considering the tradition from which they have recently sprung, it is quite remarkable that they should so clearly come to reject the claims of authority to be magistrate, teacher or priest. Almost overnight a whole new ethos has begun to blossom. A new community is born which feels empowered to gather its own community, write its own liturgy and ordain its own celebrants. Needless to say it does not draw the limits of communion at the institutional line. On the contrary, it is likely to draw the line on the boundary between those who are in the Resistance and those who are not. Such communities are shaking the foundations of the old churches, and I fervently hope will continue to shake them more and more and will become more consistent and coherent in their sense of freedom and power to begin here and now to do some new thing.

However . . . being a historian (and probably too much of a historian to be a really good radical—sorry about that, Dan Berrigan), I am terribly aware of the ambiguity and finitude of every historical movement. In the moment of crisis the call of the Kingdom appears and is revealed. But in living out this calling and giving it form and social expression, we betray it as well.

As I behold the ambiguities and betrayals of our church and social institutions, I find it difficult to simply reject them as the work of the Devil, unless we confess that that Devil divides our own hearts as well. Like Lucian in Hades, holding up the bleached skull of Helen of Troy, I muse that "once these dry bones too were things of beauty." Once they too were the sacrament of some great vision, some sense of the transfiguration of man and the humanization of the universe.

The structures created by the revolution to give it power and being betray the vision of the revolution and devour its prophets. In its place we have the Roman Curia and the Politburo and the Pentagon. We have to come to terms with the uncomfortable fact that history continues. Consequently we have to fight continually to keep all lines of communication open, so that we do not just incarnate some new totalitarianism on the dying body of the old, but that the whole process remains open-ended, giving everyone a chance to become more human.

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CORNELIA VEENENDAAL

ESKIMOS

I

One is a carved madonna
Who walks on stiff legs,
Peers from gouges of consternation
At a sky so densely green,
The snow beneath her feet
Reflects it blinding.
On her back a little baby sleeps,
Her hands are free to balance
And to hold a pawlike knife.
All concern is she, all mass,
And thus she tells of lastingness.

II

The other one who casts
His numinous spell
Is the artist carving the madonna;
He sits beside the ice wall,
Wearing a wool cap and heavy parka;
His hands, smooth as walrus,
Are bringing forth the little object
Out of stone. There is his profile,
Absorbed in finding form.
His eyes crease with amused joy,
And thus he tells of lastingness.

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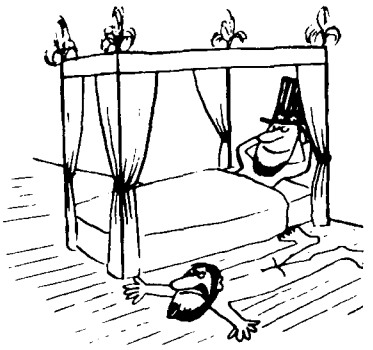

How to Stay the Richest Country in the World

JAMES H. WEAVER

"There are three billion people in the world and we only have two hundred million of them. We are outnumbered 15 to 1. If might did make right they would sweep over the United States and take what we have. We have what they want."
—President Johnson, Camp Stanley, Korea, Nov. 1, 1966.

In 1964, the United States had 6 percent of the world's population and 34 percent of the world's income. If all countries, developed and underdeveloped alike, were to achieve a per capita income equaling America's —the announced goal of the Soviet Union—then the U.S. would have 6 percent of the world's population and 6 percent of the world's income. We could hardly be said to enjoy leisure class status (or power, or prestige, or influence) in such a situation. No country with only 6 percent of the world's income would have the impact in the world that the United States has today. And American economic policies are carefully tailored to preserving this privileged position. Observe:

1. *The U.S. supports free trade—when it works to our advantage—but frequently practices protectionism to the detriment of developing nations.*

Textiles, for example, have historically been the primary industry used to develop country after country. This pattern was established by England and has been followed by the northeastern United States, the American South, Japan, etc. Once the currently underdeveloped countries started following the pattern, however, the U.S. imposed textile import quotas through the Long Term Arrangement in cotton textiles. The value of our imports of cotton textiles grew at a rate of 30 percent a year from 1958 to 1960, before the quotas were imposed. After the imposition of the textile arrangement the annual rate of growth fell to 14 percent. If the value of our imports had continued to grow from 1960 to 1966 at the earlier rate, the total value of imports in 1966 would have been $1.3 billion. This compares to actual imports of $449 million in 1966. Thus, the probable cost to the underdeveloped nations of the Long Term Arrangement has been approximately $850 million a year in foreign exchange earnings.

Another striking example of U.S. policy toward underdeveloped countries is the oil import quota program. In the period 1950 to 1957 (just prior to the imposition of this program) the value of U.S. petroleum imports was increasing 15.1 percent a year. Since the program came into effect in 1957, petroleum imports increased 2.3 percent a year to 1964. If the previous growth rates had prevailed through 1964, petroleum imports would have been valued at $2.6 billion in that year as opposed to the actual import value of $1.1 billion. This program costs underdeveloped nations approximately $1.5 billion per year.

The United States has also historically opposed commodity agreements, having relaxed this policy only briefly in the early '60s to accept the coffee agreement. However, it has recently become fairly clear that the U.S. will fail to continue its support for the coffee agreement. We have also clearly torpedoed the cocoa agreement. The U.S., actually, follows a dual policy in this regard. We regulate, supervise, and control the production of cotton, wheat, tobacco, soybeans, and peanuts at home, but we insist on a free market internationally.

2. *Foreign aid is designed to serve the political and economic needs of the United States rather than the development needs of the recipient nations.*

With certain exceptions (the Peace Corps, for example), U.S. foreign aid does not help underdeveloped countries to develop. Our Public Law 480 program, which ships surplus agricultural products to underdeveloped countries, has been a program primarily to benefit domestic agriculture, rather than to help underdeveloped nations. The program has even allowed the landlord-peasant relationship (feudalism) to continue in many of those countries where aid has been given.

Other aid programs subsidize lagging U.S. exports, or lay the groundwork for future U.S. economic gains. A 1965 AID statement declared that "development loan dollars, now spent in large preponderance in the U.S., contribute substantially to employment in our export industries, and have created important footholds for fu-

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ture U.S. export markets after U.S. assistance is phased out." Meanwhile, interest on loans has risen sharply since the '50s, and underdeveloped nations must devote a large part of new aid to servicing past debts.

Let's look at the countries which the U.S. aided from 1953 to 1965. The countries which received the largest amount of aid per capita were: 1. Taiwan, which received $324 per capita, totalling $3.5 billion, of which 65% was military; 2. Jordan, which received $299 per capita, totalling $.5 billion, of which 7% was military; 3. Laos, which received $295 per capita, totalling $.5 billion, of which the military portion was classified; 4. Korea, which received $221 per capita, totalling $5.6 billion, of which 39% was military; 5. Vietnam, which received $208 per capita, a total of $3.0 billion, of which the military portion was classified. We can see the types of countries that the U.S. has tended to favor—reactionary or military regimes whose principal virtues have been either militant anti-Communism or a location next to the Communist bloc. In 1966-67, 25% of our aid went to South Vietnam.

The United States has not supported the expansion of United Nations aid programs, has not been enthusiastic about expanding the International Development Association, and successfully opposed the Stamp plan for international monetary reform, which would directly help underdeveloped countries.

3. *Underdeveloped countries lose out on direct private investment from the U.S.*

If one examines the data for the period 1950 to 1964, one sees that U.S. direct private investment outflows from the United States to underdeveloped countries amounted to $10 billion. The United States repatriated from these same countries $21 billion during this period. The U.S. brought $2 out for every $1 that went in. If we look at the rates of return on American direct investment abroad, we see that in 1964-65 Americans earned 23 percent on investments in Africa, 36 percent in Asia, and 12 percent in Latin America.

But won't the U.S. assist the development of the rest of the world simply because, in the long run, such development is necessary for America's own well-being? Both liberals and conservatives alike fall back on this assumption to reassure themselves that, whatever our present shortcomings, the story will have a happy ending because it *must* have one.

First, it is argued that the U.S. needs the rest of the world to develop to serve as markets. But this is not true today. With the introduction of Keynesian economics and the techniques of demand management, it is possible for any developed country to have, at home, the level of effective demand it needs in order to provide for full employment. It can reduce taxes or increase government spending to create a demand for whatever it is capable of producing. In 1964, the U.S. cut taxes by some $10 billion and increased demand by approximately $30 billion. Therefore, it is obvious that we do not need the rest of the world for markets. One of the points about the *General Theory* of which Keynes was most proud was that it made imperialism unnecessary and ended the need to have other countries buying a country's excess products.

Secondly, it is argued that the United States needs the underdeveloped countries because it needs their raw materials. But this argument does not stand up under careful scrutiny either. The United States is the world's largest producer of almost all types of raw materials. We are capable of supplying ourselves with necessary natural resources. Those which cannot be produced at home can be synthesized—natural rubber was unavailable in World War II and the United States developed synthetic rubber. With the introduction of plastics in the 1950's it became possible to substitute for any number of metals and other products which we needed before. It is not denied that our standard of living would suffer if we did not have imports of raw materials from underdeveloped countries. But the United States could live very well—could be very rich indeed—without the raw materials that we get from underdeveloped countries.

The third argument that is made is that the United States needs the rest of the world to develop for the sake of world peace. But this ignores all past history. Most developing countries have always been expansionistic, militaristic, and aggressive. England developed first and took over half the world. After England came France and Napoleon, then Germany and its expansionism, then the United States which took over a large part of Mexico, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, etc. Russia followed the pattern and now China is showing symptoms of doing the same. Developing countries are, at least in the short run, belligerent and prone to expand.

In fact, of course, most underdeveloped countries are *not* developing, or if they are developing and growing it is at a much slower pace than that of developed countries. The data on this subject are clear. From 1950 to 1964 the GNP of the poorest 60 percent of the countries in the world grew from 82 percent to 166 percent. The wealthy countries grew much faster than the countries at the bottom of the scale. In 1950 the poorest 60 percent of the world's population received 13.2 percent of world income and in 1964 they received 11.1% of world income. The richest 40 percent of the world's population, which had received 86.8 percent of world income in 1950, received 88.9 percent in 1964.

The United States has no desire to share its privileged status in the world. We do not want "them" sweeping over us and taking what "we" have. U.S. policy does not assist development, nor is there any necessity which might require this policy to change. And—obviously—U.S. policy has been a grand success.

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Empirical scientist or psychologizing philosopher

THE PROBLEM OF PIAGET

HANS G. FURTH

Is Piaget an empirical scientist or a psychologizing philosopher? This question is being asked by an increasing number of psychologists in America as well as elsewhere. The book under discussion was written by Piaget as a partial answer to this question. Its tentative title in a forthcoming English translation is *Uses and Abuses of Philosophy,* while a literal translation of the original French title reads as *Wisdom and the Illusion of Philosophy.*

The book was published in 1965 in Paris and required a second edition within a short time. It created a stir in French intellectual circles as no other of his many books before. The reason for this lies in the theme of the book which touched a sensitive nerve in the life of European intellectuals. Piaget tells the public and his academic colleagues on the faculties of philosophy how it happened that he was early enamored by the goals and promises of philosophy but gradually came to realize that a seeker of knowledge cannot find ultimate satisfaction in the philosophical enterprise. Thus the book turns out to be an indictment of philosophy as it is practiced today in Piaget's environment. In fact, there is a close analogy between Piaget's potential impact on European philosophy and Watson's salutary impact on mentalistic psychology as practiced 50 years ago in this country.

To an audience of American psychologists the picture of Piaget as an iconoclast does not ring true. Even for those of us who admire Piaget's empirical work, his interpretations and theoretical elaborations appear all too close to philosophy. Was it not from these kinds of speculations that Watson and American psychology with him, turned away and resolutely studied human behavior as something externally observable within the framework of a mechanistic-physical causality? It sounds strange to us that philosophers on the continent should respond to Piaget's work by classifying him in a pejorative sense as a "positivist," a scholar who has turned from philosophical values and neglects therefore the truly human aspect of the human person.

If Piaget were indeed a positivist in his approach to the problem of knowledge, experimental psychologists around the world would readily accept him as one of their own. It is Piaget's paradox that in his scientific work he has to stress more his anti-positivist conclusions on the acquisition of knowledge, while in his theoretical approach he is continuing to ask questions which until now only philosophers have asked. I believe that it is on account of these questions that he is misunderstood by experimental psychologists just as his scientific methodology makes his philosophical colleagues suspect.

Piaget explicates his belief *vis-à-vis* philosophy in the introduction when he states: "Philosophy is a 'wisdom,' indispensable to rational creatures to coordinate the various activities of man; but it does not attain a knowing properly speaking since knowledge characteristically involves some guarantees or means of control; these controls are not provided by philosophy." In other words, there is a place for philosophical activities; he even calls them indispensable for a rational human life. He proposes that the product of philosophizing should not be called knowledge, but at best a wisdom (a mixture of knowledge together with personal values and norms) which differs from knowledge by two additional factors. A factor of decision or commitment which gives *vital* meaning to one's life and a system of provisionally accepted opinions or hypotheses which allow one to live in cognitive harmony with one's personal decision. In contrast, Piaget restricts the scope of knowledge to *objective* meaning and asserts that knowledge at all levels entails built-in controls or criteria for truth, whether implicitly, as in the spontaneous manifestations of rational thinking or explicitly, in the scientific methodology of controlled observations of facts or formalized systems of deductive reasoning.

To appreciate the message of the book one must realize that what Piaget sees as the decline of philosophy has deep epistemological roots; it is also a sociological and psychological problem institutionalized in the settings of universities and scholastic circles. Thus "philosophical courage" is required to speak against the abuses of philosophy in an environment where philosophy has become an almost sacred profession, a prerequisite, if not a substitute for, religion. Since Piaget admits he is not exempt from self-motivated assumptions, he thinks it best to describe how it happened that "a future philosopher eventually became an epistemologist of the development of thinking."

Piaget began his scholastic career as a zoology as-

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sistant in his native town, Neuchâtel, Switzerland. After having made quite a name for himself in biology at age 15, he first contacted philosophy in the works of Bergson. This philosophy attracted him tremendously. In his initial enthusiasm he decided to devote his career to philosophy. He soon focused on the problem of scientific knowledge, first in relation to biology and subsequently in connection with human intelligence at the Psychiatric Institute in Zurich and at Binet's institute in Paris. His first appointment at a university was at Neuchâtel on the faculty of philosophy, during which time what he calls his de-conversion from philosophy became complete. Four years later in 1929, he joined the faculty of science at the University of Geneva where he realized that his epistemological activity was more than a peripheral philosophical question; on the contrary Piaget considers the formation of a scientific epistemology, independent from philosophical opinions, as his chief and lasting contribution. He recalls with obvious satisfaction his founding of the International Center of Genetic Epistemology in 1955. Here relevant questions about the attainment and nature of knowledge are scientifically investigated through interdisciplinary efforts. At that very time the faculty of philosophy at Geneva, as if to spite or at least counteract such a falling away from the philosophical fold, saw fit to prepare the establishment of a chair in philosophical psychology.

Piaget's position on the relation of the sciences to philosophy can be summarized as follows. All great philosophical systems were reflections within the framework of scientific discoveries and the characteristic epistemological stance of each system mirrors philosophy's dependence on the progress of scientific knowledge. Piaget illustrates this thesis with six great philosophical systems of the past; at the same time he relates the epistemology of each to the peculiar scientific view it is built on.

1. First, there is Plato's transcendental idealistic realism. Reality is conceived as residing in externally stable ideas, whose reflection the human mind passively receives. This epistemology is the counterpart of a statically conceived mathematical science unable to describe the changing movements of the physical world.

2. Then we have the immanent realism of Aristotle's system, based in part on empirical biological facts and the deductive reasoning of logic. Reality is conceived within the appearances of things and knowledge is a conformity between the immanent reality of the physical world and the "informed" mind.

3. With Descartes and Leibniz we witness the discovery of the human person who is active in knowing, the "epistemic" subject. These philosophers made giant discoveries in logical and mathematical operations and first demonstrated that mathematics could fit the movements of the changing universe. These philosophers were deeply impressed by the active, operational character of knowing; yet without a psychological perspective, they posited ideas as innate, in a kind of pre-established harmony between mind and world.

4. In contrast, the empirical epistemology of Locke and Hume took its initial tendency from psychological considerations. Yet Piaget points out how superficially or rather how philosophically this psychology was pursued. In fact, the psychology of these English empiricists is for him an excellent illustration of a psychology almost totally derived from a personal, egocentric commitment of its authors to certain values. While Locke and Hume criticized justifiably the inadequacy of innate ideas, they fell according to Piaget into the more grievous error of projecting their own philosophical perspective into psychological facts.

5. As a culminating synthesis of previous systems, Kant's epistemology is a reflection of Newton's physical science. Knowledge is now fully conceived as a construction of an epistemic subject with only the limit that the inherent necessity of logical constructs is given *a priori*.

6. Finally, Piaget suggests that Hegel's dialectic system can be seen as based on sociological considerations, in a way foreshadowing the emergence of sociology as an independent science.

Dominant Factors

In retrospect, Piaget suggests two dominant factors are at work in the history of philosophy. Questions about the meaning of life and the general coordination of values are constant factors and Plato's perspective can be today as relevant and perhaps more relevant than recent philosophical endeavors. In contrast, the problem of knowledge has a variable development since epistemology reflects the actual state of scientific knowledge in a given period. Piaget stresses that the mainspring of this development was in the sciences themselves, so that the commonly accepted thesis of the separation of the sciences from philosophy should be understood as ascribing the motive force of this movement to the scientific rather than to the philosophical activity.

According to Piaget the modern viewpoint of regarding philosophy as one specialty among other scholastic disciplines, as a kind of knowledge, different from, or superior to scientific knowledge, is a relatively recent phenomenon, particularly since in the pre-Kantian period the great philosophers were also great scientists. During the initial indifferentiation of philosophy and science the difference between philosophical opinions and scientific facts was implicitly accepted. For these thinkers the notion of a double truth or knowledge—one for science, another for philosophy—was unthinkable. Philosophy was considered the crowning achievement of a scientific mind. In this connection Piaget delights in recalling that Descartes counseled to limit philosophical speculations to but one day in a month and spend the rest of the days with calculus and dissection. This 1:29 ratio in favor of

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science is now completely forgotten in the training and practice of philosophers.

Piaget surveys the classical philosophical problems, metaphysics, morals, logic, psychology and epistemology, and considers that it is characteristic of all scientific knowledge to bring about consensus. It seems to him that with the exception of metaphysics "all philosophical research on problems that can be limited tends to become different from philosophy and take on increasingly the form of scientific research" and thus tend toward a potential consensus. Piaget continues, "the difference be- of the problems but in the limited scope and in the in- tween science and philosophy is therefore not in the nature creasing technicality of methods of verification."

However, European philosophy in large part continues to flourish without bothering too much about the nature of facts and appears to Piaget to lack a basic reverence for what is implied by the word "knowledge." As he puts it, "it costs much less trouble to reflect and deduce than to experiment." Moreover, while in the scientific profession, "a specialist of limited talent can yet perform some useful task in a limited area, a mediocre philosopher is somewhat like a novelist or artist with little talent." Piaget then proceeds to illustrate philosophy's slipshod handling of facts in the area of physics, biology and psychology. These examples make amusing reading to one who is on Piaget's side but may appear to be largely irrelevant to the large segment of American psychology which has fought and won its battles against philosophy half a century ago. Understandably the recipients of Piaget's diatribes were anything but amused. For here Piaget is attacking philosophers whom he personally encountered and who are personally known to many readers of the book.

When Piaget insists there is only one kind of knowledge, he does not imply that different viewpoints do not lay bare different levels of reality. He agrees that all critical observations are in part a function of the instruments or methods of observation. A thing shows different properties under the microscope than seen by the unaided eye; an electrical analysis demonstrates different facts from a chemical analysis. It is therefore not a question of one absolute, unchanging truth. What is essential, however, is the implicit possibility of relating all the different aspects of knowledge so that there are no internal inconsistencies or contradictions. In fact, this is the usual manner of enlarging knowledge. Even when no readily available way of combining two partial knowledges is at hand, a not yet discovered interpretation may reconcile the given facts in the future.

The concept of two kinds of knowledge, as illustrated in the philosophies of Bergson and Husserl is, however, a different matter. Here it is proposed that the left hand should know nothing of what the right hand is doing. The vital or existential grasp of an intuition is claimed to lead to a knowledge different from, and need not obey, the usual methods of knowing employed in obtaining some scientific fact. Again and again, Piaget insists that he rejects this claim not because the problems are not valid or because the introspective method is inherently false. Conscience, existence, intuition, all the problems of phenomenology are real problems and there should be no objections to these notions themselves. What is unacceptable is the claim that beyond observation and deduction there is another method of obtaining knowledge by intuition or reflective wisdom. We have seen that Piaget rejects this claim because it implies a radical difference in types of knowing or truth. But he is not a disembodied rationalist and admits readily that in actual life reflection is part and parcel of knowledge without being a third autonomous source of truth.

Up to this point, it should be quite clear that Piaget has separated himself from a philosophical approach to the investigation of knowledge. Even though he does not use the strict experimental method, at least he *does* base his theory of knowing on empirical observations and not, like Bergson or Sartre, on introspection. This much can be readily accepted and the vast majority of American psychologists would probably argee with Piaget's position *vis-à-vis* philosophy. At the same time Piaget accepts the subject-object relation as the most central question in the nature of knowledge. On this point he falls afoul of the strictures of positivism for which questions about the knower and the known are meaningless and harmful as a scientific enterprise.

By what right, asks Piaget, can positivism limit truth as a copy of physical reality, or logical positivism limit it to the physical phenomena together with a language with which to speak about the phenomena? According to what scientific criteria can one divide problems into those that are called scientific and those that are called metaphysical and therefore meaningless? First, what is meaningless in terms of a scientific proposition can still be valid as personal or collective wisdom. Secondly, phenomena that in the past could not be approached by scientific methods and therefore were meaningless in the strict sense of science have become subject to scientific scrutiny thanks to progress in general scientific thinking and methodology. Piaget mentions in this connection the concept of finality, which was once anathema to positivist scientists in the past. Today notions like finality begin to have scientific respectability. Feedback and self-regulatory systems have become scientifically meaningful concepts in cybernetics and biological embryology.

Piaget records that one of the factors responsible for the emergence of philosophical psychology in its various forms was a reaction against the newly emerging discipline of scientific psychology. This new science was conceived within a mechanistic, associationist framework of positivist thinking and has continued to be guided by implicit or explicit assumptions which are closely related to a positivist, or better, empiricist epistemology. Accord-

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ing to empiricism the determinants of knowledge are chiefly environmental contingencies outside the organism and mental constructs are seen as primarily internalized copies of the given real world. Any notions of mental capacities that transcend the physical world are rejected as unnecessary entities devoid of scientific value.

In the face of the two opposing views—empiricism and mentalism—Piaget rejects them both with equal vigor. What is the basis for his stance? Referring to Piaget's studies on children's thinking, a colleague of his is quoted as saying: "The empirical study of experience refutes empiricism," and he could have added "as well as mentalism." Piaget makes the bold claim that he has found a way to satisfy the positive values of both approaches to knowledge without falling into the negative aspects of the two extremes. By positive values I would refer to the empirical method of verification and the legitimacy of considering the intrinsic necessity of logical mental constructs as differing from the lawful succession of contingencies. The negative aspects are called by Piaget the illusions of a supra-scientific knowledge on the one hand and the excesses of dogmatic empiricism on the other hand. The model of an empty organism and a ready-made environment may be a more or less adequate theory, but when such a model is exalted into a world view, then science goes beyond its limits and becomes a distorting philosophical dogma.

The emergence of scientists posing as philosophers is seen by Piaget as the counterpart to the emergence of philosophers proposing a para-scientific or supra-scientific knowledge. At the basis of both extremes, according to Piaget, lies a common misunderstanding concerning human knowledge. In the book Piaget does not go into details on the substantive issues of his theory on which the claim for his own epistemology of knowledge rests, and even a cursory discussion of his empirical findings and interpretations is beyond the compass of this kind of paper.

However, this much can be stated. For Piaget, knowledge is not a copy of objectively given reality but neither is it the uncritical projection of a subjective mentality endowed with supra-natural powers or idiosyncratic intuitions. What Piaget is looking for in his research and his theory is human knowing which entails a subjectivity that is not a personal, introspective subjectivity but a broad species-specific subjectivity. Piaget studies by empirical methods the gradually developing human capacity to construct both subjectivity and objectivity.

In conclusion, should we think of Piaget as a philosopher or a scientist? If the American psychologist is still unhappy about calling Piaget a scientist it may be that our view of science falls within the positivist framework of thinking which, as we have seen, Piaget rejects on the basis of empirical findings. At least from the conare just as bewildered by this empirical epistemologist tent of this book let us remember that French philosophers as American psychologists are puzzled by the fertile outpourings of this epistemological psychologist.

Power comes out of the barrel of a gun

PLAYING AMERICAN ROULETTE

JOE RIGERT

The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy are many gunshots away now. A silencer has been placed over the public demand for gun control. And the gun lobby is back in the saddle in the state legislatures.

That's the picture in early 1969—just a few months after the U.S. Congress had enacted restrictions on interstate firearms traffic and left it up to the states to impose controls within their boundaries. Up to the states —that's where the gun lobby prefers to see it.

"New Jersey and Illinois are experimenting with various versions of good citizenship identication cards and other states are contemplating this approach," Franklin L. Orth, executive vice-president of the National Rifle Association, told the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee on June 26, 1968. "These merit close and careful study, and they appear to open a promising new vista of state firearms regulation."

The "promising new vista," of course, is only a mirage. The gun lobby has two faces, and neither face looks with favor on effective gun controls. While Orth was praising the New Jersey law, NRA members, sportsmen and gun dealers were fighting in the courts to destroy that same law and were seeking in the legislature to repeal or weaken it. (The law recently was upheld by the New Jersey Supreme Court.) And in December of 1966, shortly after the New Jersey law was passed, the NRA magazine *American Rifleman* editorially condemned Philadelphia and New Jersey firearms regulations

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as "the most drastic gun-control laws in the nation."

New Jersey Atty. Gen. Arthur J. Sills portrays the duplicity of the gun lobby succinctly: "To defeat attempts at state and local legislation they argue that federal controls are necessary. To defeat attempts at federal legislation, they argue that it is at the state and local level that the laws must be passed."

The New Jersey experience is worth examining in some detail because it shows how difficult it is for the states to contend with the gun lobby even in the best of circumstances. New Jersey is the most heavily urbanized state in the country and has only 160,000 licensed hunters. Thus the urgency of gun control presumably would be most pronounced, and the power of the gun lobby would be least influential. Yet it took a highly favorable political situation and persuasive political leadership to enact a law which, although one of the toughest in the country, still falls short of the ideal.

Atty. Gen. Sills and local prosecutors were calling for stronger gun control in New Jersey already in the early 1960s, but it was not until 1965 that the big break came. That was when Gov. Richard J. Hughes, a one-time judge familiar with the needs of law enforcement, won reelection by the largest plurality in state history after campaigning for stronger gun controls. His opponent took the other side of the issue.

The Law's Provisions

Sills at first had thought that he could reach a compromise with the gun forces, but he ultimately concluded that this was impossible. The opposition wanted no controls over rifles or shotguns and no fingerprints on purchase permit applications. Sills contended that all weapons should be covered and that a fingerprint requirement was essential to determine if gun buyers had criminal records. One counter-proposal by a gun lobbyist was that all criminals be required to carry a tattoo on the back of their hand so they could be easily identified when they tried to buy a gun. Another was that the state provide each gun dealer with an up-to-date list of all known criminals. While Sills was using up time responding to such worthless proposals and trying to reason with the gun forces, his office was being deluged with opposition mail, some of it voicing the usual views of the sportsmen, and some of it of more questionable motivation. He checked 335 letters received in a six-month period of 1965 and found that 89 writers had known or suspected criminal records.

It became apparent that compromise on such terms was impossible, that this was a fight to the finish. At one legislative hearing, the attorney general was heckled, hissed and booed and drew the loudest cat calls when he asked, "How many more presidents must we lose before we come to our senses?" Outside the hearing chamber, a former member of the Minutemen—an ultra-right organization that had accumulated private arsenals in some communities—carried a sign that read, "We send men to Vietnam, but at home protect Commies and disarm patriots."

But Hughes and Sills, riding the crest of the big election victory and capitalizing on a large Democratic majority in the legislature, stood up to the pressures, cajoled and persuaded their fellow Democrats, and pushed a bill through by perilously close votes in the two legislative chambers. Of great help was support from law enforcement. One key statement came from John J. Heffernan, president of the New Jersey State Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. "Certain special interests have been applying considerable pressure on members of the legislature in an effort to prevent passage of the gun-control bill. I do not hesitate to point out that these special interests are in direct conflict with the public interest, which is the safety of our people."

Asked about the legislative battle two years later, Senate majority leader Sido Ridolfi recalled vividly, "I never expected anything as bitter, acrimonious, unfair and unreasonable as the letters and telephone calls we got. I have been in the Senate since 1953 and nothing before provoked that kind of correspondence. I was called a Commie and ethnic names I never heard before."

The Democrats lost control of the legislature in the election after the gun-control law was enacted. The gun law may have had something to do with the election setback (not a single Republican had voted for gun control), but some observers attribute it more to the passage of other controversial bills, including the first sales tax in state history, and to the fact that Hughes was not heading the ticket that year. Additional evidence for this view is seen in failure of the Republican majority to repeal or modify the law in the next session. Some legislators tried to make it even tougher.

The New Jersey law is good and tough. It requires an identification card to buy a rifle or shotgun, a permit to purchase a handgun and another permit to carry a handgun in a vehicle or public place. Fingerprints are required for I.D. cards and permits so that police can check for criminal records. I.D. cards and permits are denied to persons with criminal records, to mental defectives, drug addicts, habitual alcoholics, subversives or others considered unfit to handle a firearm. Gun dealers must be licensed and must report the serial numbers of handguns and names of buyers to state and local law enforcement officers. The law falls short of the ideal only in its failure to require permits and registration for all firearms in possession, not just as they are bought or carried.

The law has been effective. More than 2,000 applications for gun permits have been denied since the law went into effect in August of 1966. In 63 percent of the cases, the denial was because of a criminal record—from burglary to first-degree murder. One applicant for a gun permit was turned down after police discovered a

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record of robbery, burglary, car-theft, and break and entry. Another was rejected when it was found he had been in prison for armed robbery. One was turned down because he had threatened to shoot his wife. An applicant who said he had no police record actually was a fugitive from Oklahoma. The most dramatic case involved a man who was denied a permit after police learned that he had been confined to a mental hospital and still was considered emotionally unstable. Some time later, he was arrested for rape and assault. What he might have done if he had obtained a gun is left to speculation. Authorities also say that the law aids in police work. It helps local police know who has firearms in their communities, thus to be prepared for trouble in the event of a complaint. It can prevent the accumulation of arsenals by vigilante groups. The permit requirements make gun owners more conscious of their responsibilities. The gun-number records aid in recovery of firearms stolen from law-abiding citizens. The registrations help in tracing guns involved in crimes.

Meantime, the dire consequences that were predicted by gun forces when the legislation was under consideration have not come to pass. One NRA member forecast that sportsmen would give up hunting because the gun permits would be too bothersome. To the contrary, state and local police have approved 141,000 firearms permits in the first two years. More handgun permits were issued the first year under the new law than in the previous year under an old gun-control law with fewer requirements. Hunting licenses went up by 5,000 to a new high of 158,900 the first year of the law. A state fish and game official admitted, "The controversy has tended to die down now."

The law has had much easier going in the courts than it did in the legislature. A superior court judge, in upholding the law, said he could "conceive of no matter more concerned with public safety, health and welfare of the state . . . than the indiscriminate purchase and use of firearms, and the regulation thereof should be subject to the police power of the state." An appellate court panel praised the state for leading the way in passage of the law and said it saw no basic difference between obtaining a license to hunt and fish and the requirement to obtain a gun purchaser's identification card. The State Supreme Court said the law "is highly proposed and conscientiously designed toward preventing criminal and other unfit elements from acquiring firearms while enabling the fit elements of society to obtain them with minimal burdens and inconveniences."

Whether the political climate is better now for passage of gun-control laws in other states is doubtful. It is true that New Jersey acted before the public demand for firearms restrictions was heightened by the King and Robert Kennedy assassinations. But the splurge of gun-buying for self-protection as a result of civil disorders in the cities could be a countervailing pressure, based on the spurious "right to bear arms."

The prelude to the 1969 session of the Minnesota Legislature may be a harbinger on the fate of gun control in the states. Elected officials talked loudly of the need for strong firearms controls immediately after the King and Robert Kennedy deaths. "I think the time has come," said one key legislator. A citizens committee was formed to push for federal legislation. The attorney general began work on a state bill and lined up support from local law enforcement groups. But the gun forces were also organizing—into a committee for "effective crime control" that includes policemen, public officials, sportsmen and gun dealers. They have operated quietly and effectively, eschewing the emotional, hard-line approach and arguing in favor of a "good bill." A "good bill" in their eyes is one that will impose mandatory penalties for gun crimes. (such penalties already are at least double what they are if a gun is not involved), and restrictions on the carrying of loaded firearms. The illogic of this approach, aside from many inherent deficiencies, is that it would do nothing to stop guns from going to criminals at the point of purchase and would fail to require gun registration to aid in criminal investigations. As New Jersey Atty. Gen. Sills noted, mandatory penalties offer no relief for the victim of a gun crime. And as a Minnesota prosecutor observed, tough penalties do nothing about the four out of five robbers who are not caught.

But the logic of this approach from the standpoint of sportsmen is that it involves no registration or permit requirements that would affect them. In their view, any inconvenience, regardless of how minor, is too much—even if it would provide major assistance for law enforcement. As Sills put it, "Notwithstanding every responsible law enforcement official, from J. Edgar Hoover on down, has called for the registration and licensing of all firearms, the same people who oppose this also rally around the slogan 'support your local police.' "

Hoover or not, the legislators of Minnesota have no stomach for tough gun controls. Atty. Gen. Douglas Head was unable to find legislative sponsors for a moderately strong bill. The lawmakers opted for restrictions on car-

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rying concealed weapons and tougher penalties—the very script to the letter of the gun lobby. They got the message at a public hearing packed with some of the 600,000 hunters in the state. The legislator who said earlier, "I think the time has come," later was saying, "I don't think there's any chance of passing a registration law after what we've seen tonight."

With the gun lobby in such control, Minnesota ranks with Vermont in having the weakest gun-control laws in the country. Even then, the laws in the other states are not much better. Only four states require some registration of firearms. Only eight states demand a permit to buy a handgun. The gun lobby has done its work well. The gun continues as the god and the devil of American society.

2, 4, 6, FOR SEX

THE SCREEN

One thing the movie makers of today's cycle about youth have in common is an insistence on pointing out that the old rules in sex morality are gone, as gone as the snows of yesteryear. (Actually yesteryear was pretty racy too, as anyone knows who read the writers or saw the movies of the Jazz Age). In any case most of the films in today's trend have young people popping in and out of beds without giving a second, much less a first, thought to morality. So, to continue the rundown on the current youth cycle, here are three more items made by directors of serious intent.

"Stolen Kisses," I suppose, must fall in the art category. It was made by the New Wave artist François Truffaut, whose "The 400 Blows" and "Jules and Jim" were indeed art; it has already been honored in France with the Prix Melies and the Grand Prix; it has been nominated for an Oscar here. "Stolen Kisses" tells a rather slight story for a film of art stature. It is about a young man, Antoine Doinel, who was the 12-year-old delinquent of "400 Blows," played so movingly by Jean-Pierre Léaud. Now, 10 years later, Léaud continues to play Antoine, perhaps not so movingly but with great charm and with the same look of amazement on his face as he looks at the world and at us asking, "Can such things be?" Antoine is still all thumbs and bumbling as he goes through a series of episodes, takes all blows in stride, and comes up smiling. Delighted to be kicked out of the army, Antoine ineptly goes from job to job—as a hotel night-watchman, as a detective, as a TV repairman. He has a couple of sessions with prostitutes; he goes to bed with his client's wife (Delphine Seyrig), for which he loses the detective job; the pretty girl (Claude Jade) with whom he's in love gets him to come over and fix her TV set and go to bed with her. Antoine leads a busy life; and while his story is thin what distinguishes "Stolen Kisses" is its wealth of interesting characterizations and Truffaut's ability to make us feel a *joie de vivre* in spite of the less pleasant aspects of life. At times the film is sad; more often it is very funny; and we are delighted at the finale to find Antoine getting along with lovely Claude—perhaps on the road to true, even though soap opera, happiness.

Whether or not the young man (Gary Lockwood) in "Model Shop" will ever find happiness is not indicated by anything in the picture. Made by another French director, Jacques Demy, who is best known for "Lola," "The Umbrellas of Cherbourg" and "The Young Girls of Rochefort," this film is his first to be made in the United States; and Demy fell so in love with his Los Angeles location that he forgot about his story from time to time. The script, written by Demy, who produced as well as directed, follows our aimless young hero from the time he wakes up in bed with his girl (Alexandra Hay), then has a fight with her, then drives around the city to find some money so his car won't be taken from him, is fascinated by an older woman (Anouk Aimée), follows her to a shop where she poses as a model for amateur photographers, falls in love with this attractive woman, spends a night of love with her—a night that is supposed to change both their lives and make them better for the experience. The film isn't very clear on why or how they will be better. But then it's not clear on other points either. The boy, a drifter who doesn't want to return to his architectural job because he's about to be drafted, does receive his draft notice and says at the end he's going to try to begin again. Demy's movie is extraordinarily handsome with its lovely color photography of L.A. and environs; but what it's trying to say about today's young drifters, except that they are interested in sex, never does comes through.

"Changes" is also about a young drifter. This one leaves home and his girl and wanders around California looking for himself. That he never finds himself at the finale is no doubt indicative that today's problems are too much for our youths. The film, produced and directed by Hall Bartlett, who also had a hand in the script, is a curious mixture of documentary and fiction with the correct problems turning up (Vietnam, integration, campus unrest, etc.) but our boy (a handsome fellow played by Kent Lane) has no idea what he wants—except girls to sleep with as he enjoys the stunning scenery along the Pacific coast. For all the sincerity of this survey on youth, "Changes" gets nowhere. The film means well, but hardly needs to go on for an hour and a half saying young people are confused and irresponsible. The finale, however, is perhaps right—with the young fellow still wandering, still listening to distant drums. PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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RAMSEY'S JUST WAR

Ethical realism and moral responsibility

ROBERT H. SPRINGER

LIKE so many of their predecessors, the candidates in the last presidential race bit off more than they could chew. In four years they would solve the crime problem, substantially remove the urban blight and give us law and order in all areas of life! The fault was not all theirs. We of the electorate, we bearers of the American ethos, would not let them do less. Our history is the great success story. As a result, we are hard losers. We want quick and total solutions to our problems. If they wish to be elected, our candidates better had promise us total victory.

Dr. Paul Ramsey of Princeton University presents a telling analysis of this ethos as revealed in our thinking about war, in his book, *The Just War*. The "aggressor-defender doctrine," as he expresses it, defines war as just when it is a reaction against aggression. Good enough. However the whole focus of attention is limited to the initiation of hostilities. Thus future consequences of armed conflict get short shrift and the causes of war are of little moment. The continuation of war is somehow withdrawn from moral scrutiny, as if the initial aggression justified any measure of defense. "The whole moral foundation of our policy needs re-examination," Ramsey concludes, "and in particular the view that compresses the just war into war's start."

The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility

PAUL RAMSEY

Scribner's, $12.50

This tendency to compress, this moral reductionism, is found also, I might add, in our push-button mentality. Who will push the button, we ask, releasing the Minutemen from their silos? We fail to ask, why were they put there in the first place? Actually the question should have been asked when the silos were being constructed, or rather when the system was first being conceived. For that was the point in time when our moral responsibility began. It continues from then on into the future.

In a sense it is too late to ask the question when a weapons system is already at the button-pushing stage. This is not quite to say that we are likely to use it if we get pushed too far. We do not wish to play the bully in international affairs by waving the big nuclear stick with the intention of using it if we have to. The danger rather is that the hounds of SAC will break out and hound us, willy-nilly, into action we should not take. For technology has its own inbuilt momentum which we are far from being able to control.

It was already too late to think of controlling the use of the first atomic bomb late in World War II when collective tempers were frayed and fearful anger held sway. Both sides had already fallen to systematic extermination of cities with their human populations. And all the time the bomb was gathering its forces, like some mammoth Saturn seething on its launch pad, waiting only for the flick of a switch. But Robert Batchelder has already detailed that story, a story fully told in its title, *The Irreversible Decision*.

Just so in Vietnam. The colossal U.S. war machine has its active inertia. It will move on almost despite us. The men and the matériel are there, the argument says, so use them. We have committed ourselves. Let's push on and get it over with! Marx was not far wrong when he saw man as swept along by the irresistible exigencies of history. Technology has its own overpowering *élan*.

Paul Ramsey is in the political realist camp. Power in international relations, realism says, is here to stay, including military power as a last resort—until and unless an international authority with power behind it comes into being. The U.N., of course, is not that kind of authority. This makes Ramsey a disciple of the Reinhold Niebuhr school of ethical realism in politics.

He is not merely a disciple, however, for he moves beyond the master. He brings to bear the principles of the just war theory to insurgency and counter-insurgency warfare. The relativity of the rule of political non-intervention is cogently presented. We are indebted to him for developing the concept of selective conscientious objection. Indeed he goes beyond the strictly ethical question into the thorny legalities of how to make it work in our society. On this question he pioneered in his *War and the Christian Conscience* in 1961. Provokingly he states that the role of the Church in public policy should be limited to that of theoretician. Political decision must be left to the statesman and citizen.

Perhaps his major contribution to the ethics of war is his "principle of discrimination." In the concrete this is the moral imperative of sparing innocent life in the execution of war policies, an unpopular stance amid the growing pressures for total war that spares no one.

The Just War is a collection of the papers published in the years intervening since his *War and the Christian Conscience*. As such it represents the development of Mr. Ramsey's thought. Inevitably repetition creeps into a text when previously published articles are assembled between hard covers without major revision. Even so, we have all of Ramsey here, a frequent pleader for the tradition of hard reason and calm realism in the uses of power to eliminate war from among men.

Perhaps the gravest oversight in the literature on peace and war is the neglect of the economic. Ramsey, for all his breadth of view, is not a stranger to this oversight. Ethicists seem not to

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be aware of the economic data and their moral relevance. Economic academicians, with few exceptions, are strangely reticent about bringing to bear their competence to the forming of political policies and moral judgments. Yet the economic, along with the military and political, is part and parcel of the whole situation. Vietnam, peace in the world and the Communist threat cannot be adequately considered independently of world trade, foreign aid and the uplift of the poorer nations. Moreover, the economic has an ethical dimension, bearing as it does upon ownership, and the health and happiness of man. The appropriation of our public monies for war or peace belongs to our Christian stewardship for which we must render an account.

Consider India and Pakistan. We armed them pursuant to a foreign policy of containment of world Communism. The two nations then proceeded to beat each other about the head and shoulders instead of holding the arms poised against the threat from Tibet. Had we viewed this phenomenon less politically and more from the economic viewpoint, we would have judged our policy in this instance at least questionable. What ever has happened to our traditional pragmatism?

Some few economists have spoken out. They wonder about the meager return on our investment on manpower, weapons and money in Vietnam. They are not looking for returns in the form of real estate occupied. They are testing our political goals by economic standards. Acknowledging the validity of these political goals, peace and security for the Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians, they find the application of exclusively political norms economically shortsighted. Would not economic development and more foreign aid uses of our manpower and billions of dollars have brought about greater peace and security for Southeast Asia and the world, they ask.

This is why ethical studies of war that ignore the economic factor run the risk in the final analysis of being unethical. They lose sight of the just war theory: have all peaceful alternatives been exhausted, and this not just at the beginning of hostilities but at every new step in the prosecution of the war?

These few spokesmen for the economic fraternity have put their finger on our major weakness, the too exclusive domination of the political criterion, the global containment of Communism. Apparently no price is too great to pay for the defeat of the red plague. Yet the flurry and worry about the dollar drain implies that there is a limit on expenditures. An alternative norm, they suggest, is: *who can use our aid best,* whether the nation be socialist, neutral or pro-Western?

But then Barbara Ward, Galbraith and Kenneth Boulding do not get the hearing they deserve. Worse still, they get no support from the economic fraternity. They have made value judgments outside their field. This is unscientific. Thus their political and moral concern is greeted by a polite but firm smack on the hand.

The academic economist is not, however, all to blame. By and large he is aware in the deficiencies in our foreign trade policy and concerned with the economic exploitation of other peoples by American business. The fault lies also with the system. It calls for the politician to make public policy. Expectedly, political criteria get the preference. Nor are our politicians deaf to pleas to grant favorable trade agreements to the poorer nations. They are, as a matter of fact, remarkably sensitive to public opinion. But the voices from the public that come through clearest and loudest are the voices of business and its lobbies.

A prime target for the use of our manpower in the world today and a prime qualifier for our foreign aid is Nigeria. To allow the senseless starvation to continue on the principle of political non-intervention (Undersecretary Katzenbach was quoted in the press as saying "Nigeria is outside our sphere of influence.") would be another example of the exclusive hegemony of political norms. Few things were better calculated to arouse pity and contempt, as we burped our enjoyment of holiday plenty this Christmas, while thousands died each day of starvation—because we could not intervene.

No doubt there are political implications to intervention in that frightful conflict of which the ordinary citizen is ignorant. The statesman must be allowed to assess these implications and make the final decision. But a refusal to step in had better include an explanation of why we were able to mount the airlift of relief supplies to the Congo but cannot do so in the present instance. Non-intervention was no barrier to our entry by force into the Dominican Republic on the grounds of saving that country from a Communist takeover. It would be difficult to imagine a Communist regime—Latin American variety, say, not Pekingese or Stalinist—that would work more havoc than the bitter civil conflict in Nigeria.

This brings us to the economic issue of foreign aid, a major recommendation of politically and morally motivated economists. There are two considerations here, that of motivation and of priorities. That veteran observer of the American scene, Gunnar Myrdal, makes an observation in the Christmas issue of *Look* magazine as to why foreign aid has dropped in recent years to the point of two billion dollars. (Contrast this figure with the nearly eighty billion for defense!) The incentive for this program has been unfortunately conceived in terms of the national interest, Myrdal states. It has been for the political good of the U.S. that we have been asked to dig into our pockets on behalf of the developing nations, enlightened self-interest. This has been a mistake. We should have been appealing to a quality deep in the American character, compassion, he suggests, and sympathy for those less fortunate.

This unabashed call for an explicitly moral pitch to sell foreign aid to the public will not rest well with certain political realists. For "Immoral Society" self-interest is the only viable appeal. Altruism smacks too much of the doctrinaire, of an idealist reverie. Is it not high time that we broke with the Niebuhr-Hans Morgenthau dictation of the primacy of national interest and gave credit to the sense of fair play, of giving-

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the-other-man-a-chance, which are basic values in our culture? Need we be ashamed that we are self-sacrificing? "Am I not allowed to do what I choose with what belongs to me? Or do you begrudge my generosity?" (Matthew 20:15) The city of man is not quite as sinful and altruism not so unrealistic to the human heart as *Moral Man And Immoral Society* conceived them to be in the depression-ridden, post-World War I days of its conception. Or, more fairly, what was real in the Depression days of the 1930s, does not correspond to reality in the 1960s.

Finally what the economist-turned-political-adviser is asking is not the abandonment of defense appropriations, nor rejection of a political policy of communist containment. They are questioning the hierarchy of our priorities. Is our national budget too heavily weighted in favor of Vietnam and the Space Program, when such poverty exists at home and in the Third World? Are the military and political advantages of the Space Program so great that we must be treated to Apollo VIII, a speck of light passing before the darkened face of the moon?

BOOKS

Vietnam: Are there any lessons?

No More Vietnams?

EDIT. RICHARD M. PFEFFER

Harper, $5.95; $1.95 paper

THOMAS M. CONRAD

Taking pretty much for granted that the Vietnam war has been a disaster for American values, regardless of disagreements among us over detailed reasons or definitions of failure, can one extract from the experience any safeguards against a repetition? This book, an edited and rearranged transcript of a symposium conducted at the Adlai Stevenson Institute in June 1968, is an attempt in this direction.

The fact that many of the participants in the conference have had, at one time, some official connection with the conduct of the war, has two effects upon the evaluation of the book. There is a hope, which is realized, that the more extravagant forms of rhetoric employed by both hawks and doves will be replaced by some substantive revelations of past thinking within the government. On the other hand, it would be unsuitable to take all of the discussions at face value, for one of the transcript's most important uses is as a raw document for interpreting the *unconscious* patterns of official thought behind the Vietnam experience, the lacunae and unconscious distortions.

One division of opinion shows up almost immediately, but it requires some time and effort (particularly by Stanley Hoffman) to make it fully conscious and explicit. This division is between those who blame bad decisions on bad organizations and those who blame bad decisions on faulty thinking. Attacks upon "bureaucracy," particularly in the conduct of foreign policy, are the traditional way in which liberal pluralists obfuscate the more basic failure of their assumptions. So long as politics can be represented as dominated by bureaucracy, the liberal pluralist cannot really lose: if the bureaucracy produces disasters, at least it can be argued that the failure is due to too much pluralism and cross-checking in the bureaucracy, and form if not function is served; if the bureaucracy muddles through satisfactorily, this is taken as proof of the omnipotence of pluralism. But if there is one striking, overriding singularity about the Vietnam war, it is not the power of bureaucracies or less structured pluralist forms: it is the fact that a handful of men, only two of them elected (and by deliberate and gross misrepresentation of their views), were able to impose upon both the bureaucracy and the general population a set of policies among the most violently divisive in our history. This raw concentration of power, if fully admitted, would cause the gravest anxiety for liberal pluralists; therefore a strong argument must be constructed for obfuscation. This is one demonstration of the proposition that the same neurotic psychodynamics which contributed to the liberal movement in Vietnam will prevent liberals from learning anything for the future.

There is a subtler difficulty with the counter-argument, that bad ideas lead to bad decisions. In some thoroughly obvious ways, this is a more adequate generalization than that of all pervasive bureaucratic fumbling. The most obvious problem with official thinking was that the only coherent and credible motivation for heavy U.S. involvement disappeared, soon after the escalation began, while increasing attention was paid to an alternative motivation which was thoroughly unsuitable. The discouragement of China seemed, before 1965, both necessary and feasible: but within months of the escalation's beginning, China was in serious trouble in Indonesia and other foreign adventures, was beginning to tear itself apart domestically, and at a certain point quite palpably folded on Vietnam as a "proving ground." If the U.S. had not been led into making a tacit agreement with China to make Vietnam a proving ground, if Kennedy had not over-reacted to the massive retaliation doctrine of the fifties with a dangerous enthusiasm for counter-insurgency as a new means toward U.S. military supremacy, it is possible that the escalation would never have occurred. But in any case, by 1966 it was becoming clear that as far as discouraging China went, we had become

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our own worst enemy. A confrontation which neither China nor the D.R.V. could have forced upon us was gratuitously offered so that we could make our own opportunity to fall on our faces. And it was just when the true geopolitical importance of Vietnam was lessening that the alternative motivation for heavy U.S. involvement was created: the erection of a democratic government in South Vietnam and the provision of the blessings of liberty by the gift of bloody force. The realities of the situation guaranteed failure: neither part of Vietnam had ever had anything like a democratic political system; in the South there was a lack of even a *national* polity, no matter how reactionary and corrupt; and there was sufficient feeling against the central government in the South that the D.R.V. need not export aggression. It takes some pretty whimsical thinking to conclude that a society starting off with only attenuated and degenerate national-level integrating processes can not only be built into a nation, but built into a nation with a particularly demanding kind of political system, by a massive application of violence which physically and socially disintegrates it still further.

All this represents a failure of thought, and it has palpably led to bad policies. But one must beware of taking the theory too far. Intellectuals must not be tempted to believe that, since the ideas upon which the Vietnam policy was based were so patently stupid, to expose them is to ensure that they will not arise in future. Intellectuals who are so tempted have not learned *their* lesson from past opposition to the war; after all, the stupidity has been evident for some time. We must assume that the small group of men who were the driving force behind heavy U.S. involvement for so long in the face of stiff opposition were not retarded in their mental faculties, and that therefore much of the functional stupidity they displayed must have come from emotional imbalances: neurotic fears, self-deceit, and—to use a word which often appears in this book—*hubris*. Until the influx of certain academics into government in the past decade, it used to be a source of some relief to realize that silly or viciously stupid ideas needed a poltical power base before really widespread damage could be done. Now that this fusion has occurred, a synergism between a handful of academic liberal messianists and Lyndon Johnson, perhaps we should be consoled that the result was only the Vietnam war, rather than a nuclear disaster. Indeed, I was delighted to read Albert Wohlstetter's remarks on the continuing threat of nuclear war and the inattention paid this problem by recent thinking. If a handful of willful men can impose such a thing as the past three years in Vietnam, the burden of proof lies heavy on those liberal apologists for the present system who try to argue that no similar process could lead to nuclear war. Unfortunately, the most precisely "appropriate" neurotic reaction to the Vietnam experience, compounded of stubborn pride on the one hand and fear of repeated failure on the other, would be to meet any further subversion in Southeast Asia with immediate nuclear terror-bombing. The liberal apologists must demonstrate the existence of safeguards against such actions which were not apparent in the non-nuclear war in Vietnam.

It is striking to note that only one of the conferees still believed, in the middle of 1968, that some kind of U.S. "victory" was possible. This was Ithiel Da Sola Pool. Pool discusses the war in much the way that was fashionable among officials about two years ago, in terms of social "indicators" which are minute and, as Stanley Hoffman suggests, ". . . strictly quite irrelevant." This tendency to look to quantitative but not particularly solid "indicators," concentrating upon minutae so as to avoid the basic, general, gross failure of the intervention on its own terms, should not be surprising, for Pool's Simulmatics Corporation has been contracting for many of those computer-generated studies of "percentage of population in secure areas" and the like which have been the source of so much bitter humor in recent years.

If the reader becomes oppressed by the continual casting of the problem of intervention in terms of what "we" will or should do to or for "them," he will find an antidote in Eqbal Ahmad's castigation of Samuel Huntington for the "mixed bag of welfare imperialism and relentless optimism" represented by his nation-building theories. Ahmad then goes on to give what may become a pocket-sized classic statement of the situation of nationalism in the Third World.

The most suitable lesson from Vietnam, beyond issues of conventional war in the Third World and other lower-level abstractions, is the general conclusion that war is not an efficient means of long-term social control. The application of force can halt a domestic crisis or an invasion; it can determine the short-term patterns of post-war politics by continuing occupation. But it is recurrent, definitively liberal-romantic idiocy to think that a temporary application of force can control political and social patterns for years or decades after its removal. Following such an ideology, every war is the last one which will be required. And such an ideology makes it possible to complain that the United States has never lost a war and never won a negotiation, because the war aims are always subject to erosion after the war is over. Instead of an orderly world which can be "set right" piece by piece, the liberal anti-Communist messianist sees a quagmire in which one war after another has to be fought, only to have degeneration set in as soon as attention is turned to some new "problem area." It is Mr. Rusk's proverbial world in which "half the people are awake at any given time and caus-

REVIEWERS

ROBERT H. SPRINGER is a member of the faculty at Woodstock College and a frequent contributor to *Theological Studies*.

THOMAS M. CONRAD, a New York writer, is completing a book on strategic aspects of central war.

PAUL GOODMAN is the well-known social critic and novelist.

MARVIN MAGALANER, a professor of English at The City University of New York, has just completed a study of *The Fiction of Katherine Mansfield*.

MAURICE ADELMAN, JR., is a practicing attorney with a Manhattan law firm.

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ing trouble somewhere." It is doubtful that the "right people" will learn from Vietnam, this or any other useful lesson. But the effort must be made to make things extremely hot for them if they do not, and part of the intellectual preparation for the effort should be the most earnest study of this book.

The Doukhobors

GEORGE WOODCOCK
and
IVAN AVAKUMOVIC

Oxford, $7.50

PAUL GOODMAN

This is a fine book about the wandering Russian pacifist sect, the darlings of Tolstoy, told from dim 18th-century legends up through the sect's recent history in Canada. I don't know the work of Ivan Avakumovic but one would expect something excellent from George Woodcock on this subject. As a pacifist, communitarian, and anarchist he is warmly involved with the Doukhobors; he wants this odd and stubborn folk to make sense and, if possible, succeed. Yet the authors never lose their own good sense and scholarship, and the brave story is a pathetic and often seedy one. The reader may be confident that truth is not a casualty of partisanship. I need not say how rare this is in dealing with a theme of rebellion, resonant with analogies to our own troubled scene of pacifists, violent obstructionists, and communal dropouts. Maybe it is a bonus of anarchism that our writers can be partisan without following a party line.

There is a thorough account, yet inconclusive and puzzling like the events themselves, of the dragged-out war between the Canadian government and the arsonist and nudist extremists, the Sons of Freedom, the strange sect that it had welcomed to fill the prairies. The writers do not hesitate to evaluate, but the total effect is profoundly nonjudgmental. The government, like all governments, could not let people do their thing. And even when it had good civil-liberties intentions, the government could not withstand local popular outrage, not to speak of land-grabbers. Naturally its interventions roused up a stiff-necked and justifiably suspicious people who had come in order to be let alone, thought they had been promised that opportunity, and *had* been promised it, somewhat. On the other hand, there was, as usual, a fatal principle of self-destructiveness operating among the utopians themselves. Since any success we achieve in this world is bound to be secular and finite, success itself is a betrayal of spirit. Then those who are most pure or least well-adjusted —and sometimes it comes to the same thing—must burn down their own barns and again sound the call to wander, just to diminish the tension of frustration, until "As the Community collapsed, the activity of the Sons of Freedom diminished."

It is the phenomenon that Wilhelm Reich used to call primary masochism, the need to burn up and explode when one cannot get final satisfaction. The fire became "its own end, a passion that excited some of the arsonists to the point of orgasm as they watched the deadly splendor of their handiwork bursting out against the night sky."

The peculiarly alienating conditions of modern times, especially in America, did not help. The goal—remarkably achieved from time to time for a few years—was to live simply and nonviolently in an organic community, largely communist, and sing hymns, free of the State. But to prosper requires industrialization and expansion; these require capital and business methods; these require public relations and law, etc.—till one ends up giving over troublemaking enthusiasts to the police and engaging in shady deals. In such circumstances, spirit can quickly become rabid and pacifists quickly become assassins.

Toward outsiders and the government, the true believers have to raise the ante and even indulge in mere spite. Thus, going naked, which starts as an expression of Adamite yearning, gets to be used as a threat, or to make trouble, or even to provoke retaliation. Going to jail becomes a proof or satisfaction as such. It is impossible to cope with this kind of thing by either tolerance or repression; the Canadians tried both. The results are sometimes funny, when the reasonable according to this world are put in the bind that they well deserve; but sometimes people are badly hurt and the world is no better off for it.

On the other hand, during 1941 to 1945, the fun and games tended to cease. "The horror at the actuality of war seemed to enhance the pacifistic as opposed to the nihilistic element in the philosophy of the Sons of Freedom." And internal discussion between the community and the extremists was temporarily healed, if only to present a united front against conscription. In the face of real lunacy, the Doukhobors recovered their ancient realism. The Doukhobors were notable, among pacifists, in that their early documented communities, more than one hundred fifty years ago under the Czar, numbered many actual runaway draftees and noncommissioned officers; their pacifism was practical, and not merely a moral ideal.

The name *Doukhobors,* "Spirit Wrestlers," is understood by the Doukhobors themselves as Wrestlers imbued with the Spirit, and of course their enemies slandered them as Wrestlers against the Spirit. But I wonder, considering the internal dissension among them, if the reference might not be to Jacob at the River Jabbok, wrestling *with* his Angel. In western Protestantism we are more familar with the individual wrestling with his God, in conscience. The Russians locate the moral crisis in the community.

I have singled out one theme because it seems so relevant to us here now. Woodcock and Avakumovic's book, however, is a rounded history of the migrations, dynasties and economy. Let me end this review by expressing my one great dissatisfaction: the book, although it contains nearly 400 big pages, is far too short; it does not tell me many things I want to know.

For instance, there is little information of Doukhobor theology, though it seems to be a unique amalgam. Like the Quakers, it is protestant against orthodoxy and against many established

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social ideas; yet it has an hereditary prophetic leadership in some ways more charismatic than patriarch or pope. Is this why it is communal rather than congregational? Is the communism of goods, for instance, to be explained by saying that all belongs to the prophet, but the believers share in his person like a mystical body? How does this compare to the Czar? to the *mir*? And it is necessary to explain why communism was often the choice of the majority, in unfavorable surroundings. The authors show that they got security and solidarity from this choice, but these are effects and not causes.

Again, Doukhobors took little note of the Bible, but they lived intensely by their Living Book, a continual accumulation of occasional hymns preserved by a carefully institutionalized oral tradition. But we are given only a single hymn instead of a hundred with the circumstances of their creation. The singing is characteristic but we are not given any tunes. Yet they, like other human beings, must have resisted the surrounding culture only by their own creativity; it is poets who make possible the survival of intentional communities. Also, resisting going to school and devaluing literacy, they kept their Russian for three generations in Canada. What happened to the language during this period? And how, developing in relative isolation for a hundred years previously, does their Russian compare with other Russian?

We are given a pretty full account of the economy and some description of the way of life, but there is almost no sociology. For instance, what delinquency and crime were there, apart from the politico-spiritual acting out that got them into trouble? What was considered crime in the community, how was it judged, what were the sanctions?—compared with the surrounding mores. I have no hunch about any of these things; simply that we might find out something for ourselves from such an interesting example.

I am sure these topics are just as interesting to the authors themselves, so I wish they would give us some monographs.

The Letters of Rupert Brooke

GEOFFREY KEYNES, ED.

Harcourt, Brace & World, $12.50

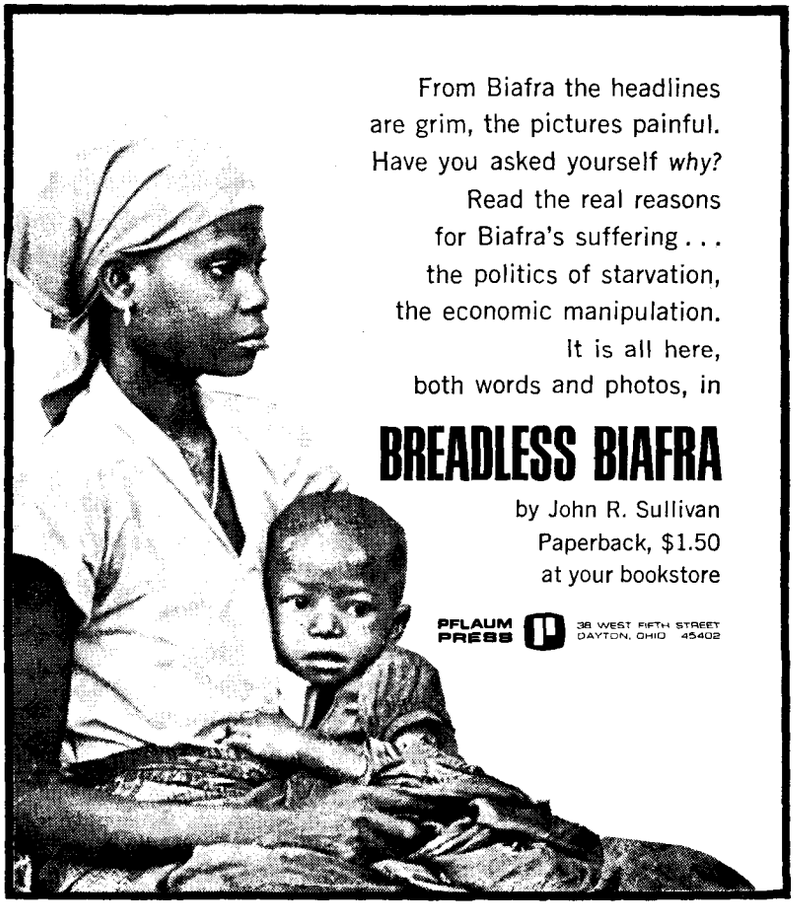
MARVIN MAGALANER

When Sub-Lieutenant Rupert Brooke died suddenly of blood poisoning in April, 1915, his sudden and spectacular elevation to the sainthood in the newspapers of the time eliminated for half a century the possibility of seeing him as he actually was during his lifetime. Winston Churchill, in a published tribute, granted him a place among the great patriots of England. Brooke's friends wept as they penned absurd tributes to his least significant virtues—among them, to his "mobile toes." In our own generation, only the Kennedy brothers, perhaps, have experienced so thoroughgoing a canonization.

The editor of Rupert Brooke's letters complains gracefully that the spirit of 1915 casts its shadow even today, and hints in his preface of forces that have prevented the publication of the *Letters* for more than a decade on the pretext that the poet's own words refused to support the myth and that, consequently, the editor of the collection must not have exercised proper discretion in selecting his materials.

Now the letters are available in a handsome volume of some seven hundred pages which, taken together with the recently published biography by Christopher Hassall, finally allows for a dispassionate appraisal of the young man who died in his twenty-eighth year. Before the death of Brooke's brother in 1907, the task of assessment is easy, for Brooke hardly appears to exist on his own at all. A series of masks replaces any individualistic personality: the writer is in one letter Oscar Wilde ("It is very sad to outgrow one's disillusions"); in another he speaks, like Beerbohm, of being middle-aged at 19; with the solemnity of a Baudelaire, he declares in a third that "It may be that in Art I can forget Life."

That he is troubled from time to time



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by the burden of wearing these oppressive masks is the only saving grace of these stuffy, often priggish early letters: "I played [the part] so well that for a time I deceived myself too." The shock of his brother's death, coming as Brooke approaches physical maturity and manhood, confronts the poet with the sense of his own Self. From this point on, though occasionally he lapses into playful role-playing intended to amuse his correspondent of the moment, the authentic voice in the letters is that of Rupert Brooke.

That voice eludes categorization, for, throughout the remaining eight years of his life, it is consistently inconsistent. On the surface, there is a frantic quality in the letters—a sense of the hecticness of everyday life, whether that life be lived in Georgian London where the pace is understandably quick, or at the Broadway Central Hotel in New York, or in Samoa or the Fiji Islands. Though Brooke could not have known until the last few months of his life that it was to be terminated by an early death, the letters seem always to be rushing toward a culmination just round the corner. Luncheons, athletic events, the ballet, the theater, meetings with politicians and poets, love affairs, holiday jaunts, conferences with publishers—the round of activities during that eight year period is exhausting just to read about. That Rupert Brooke was not a more distinguished poet than he turned out to be is perhaps attributable to the pace he set himself in extra-professional matters.

The other voice that speaks in the letters is that of the private man. The reader who is beguiled by Brooke's entree into the highest circles in England (lunch with Churchill, tea with Lady Asquith, an evening with Henry James, an affair with Cathleen Nesbitt, travel with Eddie Marsh, conversation with Virginia Woolf, and the like) is shocked to find Brooke designating the place of writing this or that letter as "Hell." The private voice is plaintive—sometimes morose—and lends an overtone of depression to a recital of the manic pace of existence. For all his bravado, both in letters and in his poetry, Brooke seems to have suffered from an overwhelming sense of his own inadequacy, especially in emotional matters.

To the women in his life, especially Katherine Cox and Cathleen Nesbitt, though he adopts verbally the tone of man of the world (his favorite word for both of them is "Child"), he reveals these deeply felt shortcomings most clearly, and his letters to them are consequently the most valuable in the volume. In a strange letter to Lady Eileen Wellesley (1914), he is particularly self-abusive: "Well, I *am* horrible. And occasionally it comes over me that I am. And then I feel—for a few moments—wretched. As to *why*—or *how*—I'm horrible: it's harder to say. There are so many things. . . ." For the reader, the horror is precisely in the odd balance between the gushiness of his exterior life and the near paralysis of his internal strength.

It is interesting—and certainly fitting—that he should have drawn personal vitality from his involvement in the external hell of the savage war in which he became involved in the last few months of his life. He threw himself into the routine of training camp and found companionship with the troops and a reason, no matter how limited and perverse, for being. Only then do the letters become almost uniformly cheerful, and the two voices blend into a single tone of resonant determination and goodwill. It is that tone that evoked the legend of Rupert Brooke, but, perhaps fortunately for his poetry and his place in history, that final tone is not a true reflection of all the earlier years of his life. Geoffrey Keynes' edition is important because it sets the record straight.

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The Vatican Council and the Jews

ARTHUR GILBERT

World Publishing, $6.95

MAURICE ADELMAN, JR.

The most valuable parts of this account of the disposition of Jewish questions at Vatican II consists of its last two chapters and appendices. In the first of these chapters Rabbi Gilbert succinctly sums up Catholic teachings on Jews and Judaism as they appeared to exist before the Council and as the Council may have clarified them. In the last chapter he recapitulates that about which he has written in the first two-thirds of the book, a narrative summary of the Council and the Jews over the four year period from 1961-1965 and projects his own views about future Catholic-Jewish relations. Lastly, in a series of appendices he gives the texts of the various Council documents on the Jews in the several stages of gestation and the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Guidelines on Catholic-Jewish relations.

Had the entire book consisted of this, I would have had high praise for the presentation of informed thought and important documents to assist all who are concerned about the relations between Christians throughout the world and Jews. Even stating this, however, I would have had to note some significant

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omissions in such a presentation. As these omissions are not handled in the first part of the book, it is perhaps fair to cite them here. Rabbi Gilbert does not seem to be able to understand or to set forth a Christian position which would, for example, decry any form of anti-Semitism wherever and however expressed in the world but which would not, on the other hand, feel that failure to back the State of Israel's every political action in any way indicated patent or latent anti-Semitism.

In speaking of the lack of Christian support for the State of Israel during the six day war in 1967, he says: "They looked upon Israel as but another secular state and failed to comprehend its religious meaning in Judaism." Through the centuries there have been many Catholics, loyal to the Pope as the spiritual leader of their religion, who have not and would not approve the political policies of a Pope as a secular ruler. This distinction understood by Catholics through the years can be translated by them into sympathy and understanding for Jews but not necessarily for the political acts of a secular state, which Israel legally proclaims to be.

In these last two chapters, Rabbi Gilbert takes an irenical attitude which is undoubtedly the one that should be taken in trying to gain a long view of the very real problems and differences which separate Christians and Jews. He sees the limitations of the Conciliar decrees, as some Christians also have, but he properly stresses the good that was accomplished by the Council, particularly in relations to the Jews. He points out the difficulty of the Council Fathers and organizers to know who actually does speak for "the" Jewish position in issues when actually there is no "the" position, but rather an amalgam of views. Similarly he recognizes the difficulty of translating the relatively felicitous United States situation vis-a-vis Christians and Jews with those countries where a state religion has actively discouraged contact between the two religious groups. This part of the book reflects a balance and care to thought, style, and detail which is oftentimes missing in the earlier portion of the book where the author sums up, sometimes confusedly, the four years of extremely complicated and technical history of the actions of Vatican II.

More serious than the disorganization in this part is the lack of accurate citations for controversial statements. A most egregious example occurs on pages 172-173 when Rabbi Miller quotes the Melchite Patriarch Maximos IV Saigh as accusing the Jews of never making any distinctions between "the heavenly Jewish religion" and "criminal Zionism." The footnote to which the reader may refer gives neither time nor place where this alleged statement was made but merely refers to some critical response to it in Christian publications. If His Beatitude made the statement, I would like to know when and where.

Other times only Jewish sources are given for allegedly anti-Semitic remarks made by Council members where a more neutral source as reference might have given greater confidence in the accuracy of the quotation. Further, the first two hundred pages are larded

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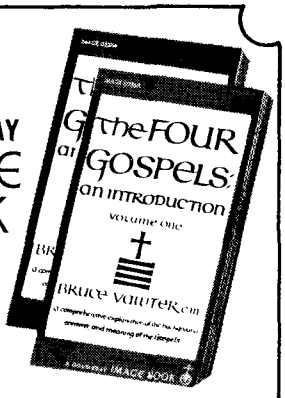

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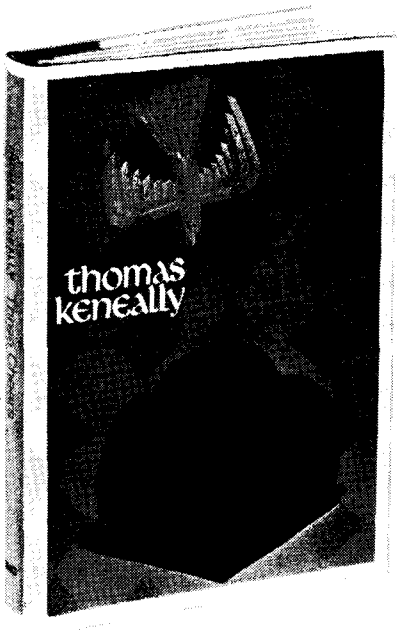

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with all sorts of gaucheries. The Coptic Patriarch's name, among others, is inaccurately given; Bishop Helmsing of Kansas City, Missouri, finds his episcopal see sometimes in Missouri, sometimes in Kansas; the same people are constantly reintroduced, oftentimes with pejorative adjectives.

A book on this subject was needed: as a popular summary this may have some use. It cannot be thought to approach definitiveness in subject nor accuracy in detail.

IN BRIEF

The Religious Experience of Mankind. By Ninian Smart. Scribner's, $10.00.

British scholarship is a tight island of lucidity; Prof. Smart's study of religion fits snugly into this tradition. Midway between Van der Leeuw's *Religion in Essence and Manifestation* and *n'importe quel* history of religion, Smart describes religious facts and feelings as a necessary prelude to judgments of religious truth. His central concern is religion's experiential dimension (the ground for its ritual, mythological, doctrinal, ethical and social dimensions). From pre-history through contemporary humanism and Marxism, Smart examines mankind's religious experience and allows these elusive phenomena to break through holy mountains of material. Enhancing plates and splendid production by Scribner's. P.N.

The Jerome Biblical Commentary. Edited by Raymond E. Brown, S.S., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. and Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm. Prentice-Hall, $25.

This eighty-article compendium of updated biblical commentary is remarkable not only for its fresh scholarship, but also as a uniquely American achievement. Back in 1962 when the editors initiated the project (which attempts to synthesize the exploding archeological, historical and linguistic developments regarding the Bible and its milieu), they decided to restrict contributors to American or north of the border nationality.

The book is divided according to topical articles (25) dealing with theological, hermeneutical and historical questions in a general fashion (*e.g.*, biblical geography, Pauline theology) and essays (55) of line-by-line commentary. Collaborators include: J. L. McKenzie, D. M. Stanley, B. Vawter, R. North and the editors. P.N.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 59)

tiveness," as Becker calls it, does not come from his animal nature but from his lack of the animal instincts which prevent "hateful destructiveness." This is the idea of the "Fall" put into biological and evolutionary terms. The ascendancy of man's intellect, his ability to question and to plan, made it impossible for him to be bound by instincts whose value was not obvious to him. Whatever he accomplishes in preventing anti-social actions will have to be accomplished by thought and culture because that is all he can count on. Becker could have made his own case stronger by offering Lorenz's findings as supporting evidence, rather than implying that he (Becker) is somehow holding the fort alone against the biological scientists of man.

JULIAN R. PLEASANTS
Dept. of Microbiology
Univ. of Notre Dame

Reply

I am happy to have Dr. Pleasants' excellent summing up of the real meaning of Lorenz's work on aggression. Evidently I had not made it clear enough in my essay that what I objected to was the *use* made of Lorenz by popularizers and social scientists, and not Lorenz's work itself. As I look back over my essay I see that I am perhaps guilty of innuendo, and certainly guilty of failing to use Lorenz himself to bolster my argument.

I am less comfortable with Dr. Pleasants' implication that I think I am holding the fort alone against the biologists. On the contrary, I see myself as merely a recent reminder of a long tradition extending back into the nineteenth century—a tradition that today is mostly ignored. Lorenz is on everyone's tongue, but who talks about the careful researches of Loretta Bender on children, studies extending over many years, which gave the lie to the idea that children are innately aggressive? And what about the extensive writings of Ashley Montagu?

The fact is that *we* are not holding the fort at all: the biologists are firmly entrenched in it; and not only can we not storm it, but with a Desmond Morris in shining armor standing atop the drawbridge, we can't even get in to tea. Yet ever since Vico the study of human nature has been rightly our province, and not that of the biologists. This is the irony I attempted to bring out in my essay. If it serves to get a dialogue started, like the one evidenced by Mr. Pleasants' thoughtful letter, it will have fulfilled its purpose. ERNEST BECKER

St. Louis

To the Editors: Herewith we are returning the copies of *Commonweal* for Feb. 21. We are not only unwilling but feel that we should not display this issue on our magazine and pamphlet rack in

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the Church. The line drawing on your cover [illustrating "The Evaded Question," an excerpt from Ernest Becker's *Angel in Armor*] might be fitting in a medical book but not on the cover of a weekly magazine.

(REV.) JOS. A. GSCHWEND, S. J.
St. Francis Xavier's (College) Church

Cut the Knocking!

Laveen, Ariz.

To the Editors: I read with interest Robert Francoeur's "The Great American Worker-Priest Movement" [Feb. 21].

I have spent 17 years here at St. John's Indian High School. I realize from the article that it has been time wasted. There are so many other ways that I as a priest could have gotten to know several hundred young Indian teenagers in a very meaningful and lasting fashion.

Today the new Catholic Directory of the Diocese of Tucson for 1969 arrived. From page 67 to page 72 of the directory are listed all of the names of the priests working in the diocese. There are 315 priests working in the diocese; 62 of these are involved in education. But 62 of the 315 priests working in the diocese is really only 19 percent of the total; or 62 of the other 253 priests "working" in the diocese is only 24 percent. Where does Francoeur get the 30 percent figure for the Diocese of Tucson? I wonder if the percentages for the other dioceses are as far off as the figure given for the Diocese of Tucson?

I am sick and tired of everyone getting on the bandwagon and knocking Catholic schools. But if they are going to knock them, at least let them tell the truth. I would like to sit down and go through the Catholic directory for all of the dioceses listed and check his figures, but I do not have time. I am busy administering a school, trying to get Indian students into colleges, trade schools, and business schools. Sure it is a secular job! What I wear does not make the least bit of difference to the kids! They know that I am interested in them, and that I want to help them. So they come to me for help. I know that some of the graduates are not practicing Catholics, but I believe that most of them are better persons and better Christians because they went to a Catholic school where priests, sisters, brothers, and laymen have made them feel welcome and wanted and important and loved.

(REV.) WALTER J. HOLLY, OFM
Principal

Reply

The General Summary of statistics at the back of the 1969 Kenedy Directory for the Catholic Church in the U.S. lists 159 diocesan priests and 164 religious order priests for a total of 323 priests working in the Tucson diocese. The same summary also states that 99 priests are teaching full time in the dio-

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Paths to Renewal, II

AS CATHOLICS north of the 49th parallel gaze down with chagrin on the increasing polarization of the Church in the U.S., the effect seems to be to drive home the necessity of a unity in our progress as we laboriously move the Church from one historical era to another. Not that there is all that much peace in the Church in Canada. The questioning, criticism and challenge sweeping through the universal Church are part of the Canadian scene, too.

But a concern for the opinions of others among the People of God is developing the human feeling of a family, rather than perpetuating the rigidities of institutional communication. . . . A vital part of the Church institution, the priests want also to be recognized as human beings with diverse talents, likes and temperaments. They want to find fulfillment within the institution but they do not want the institution to smother them.

—Douglas J. Roche
Commonweal, February 7, 1969

The Dutch Church in the last few months has had to cope not only with Roman criticism of its Catechism, but also with the Schillebeeckx cloak-and-dagger affair and with the refusal to seat Bishop Bluysen (the successor of the Dutch John XXIII, Bishop Bekkers) at a meeting of the Post-Conciliar Liturgical Commission. Once more the Dutch Church as seen from Rome, has become a test case. Viewed from Holland, it is less a test case than an experimental field with new plantings that seem to be doing very well indeed.

Most striking and much more important than all the resolutions of this Pastoral Council taken together, is the constant growth of mutual understanding and respect between hierarchy and laity in a continuous conversation between civilized people constantly aware of the dignity of all participants and anxious to respect it. This is indeed *the* new phenomenon in Catholic relationships.

—Frederick Franck
Commonweal, February 7

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cese. This information is the source of my statement that 30 percent of the Tucson priests are full-time teacher-priests. (Father Holly gives 315 priests with only 62 full time teachers for 19 percent from the Tucson diocesan directory.) Apparently the Tucson chancery has not coordinated the two rather disparate sets of figures.

Having enjoyed six years as a teacher-priest in Catholic high schools and colleges, I assure Father Holly that I am not at all "getting on the bandwagon and knocking Catholic schools." I am sure the majority of the 16,000 teacher-priests around this country would agree with Father Holly's dedication to youth and his conviction that educating our youth is vital for the growth of our country and the People of God. But I wonder how many bishops, priests, teacher-priests and laymen would agree with Father Holly (and me) that "Sure it is a secular job!"

It is about time our bishops (and Pope Paul) admit that *we already have "part-time priests,"* generous dedicated Christian men with full-time secular jobs moonlighting so to speak in the cultic Eucharistic ministry of the Church.

Recently Pope Paul VI reproved the efforts of priests to leave "the shell of a crystallized and privileged position" apart from men and the world by engaging "in worldly profession, in attendance at shows, in mundane experience," etc. The point of my article is that a *major* segment of our American priests have been outside Pope Paul's "shell" for years! ROBERT T. FRANCOEUR

Poppin' the Pill

New York

To the Editors: I just received my first issue of *Commonweal* on my trial subscription and am I ever excited. What is most remarkable is Mr. L. J. Berry's review of Lo Bello's *The Vatican Empire* [Feb. 28]. It sure is a comfort to know that the Vatican is the richest country in the world and that the Holy Father is not giving it away to the South Italians. It would have been a help to know more details about the stocks and companies that His Holi-

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ness owns. I have a spare penny or two and I would like to bet on a safe thing. It makes one's heart swell with pride to read that Pope Paul is investing some of his money in the States and that he has good large chunks in munitions plants. I wish I had a piece of that action. I'd much rather make money from bullets than have them coming at me. No offense if you or Mr. Berry or Mr. Lo Bello are pacifists.

I was beginning to think that Pope Paul might sell the whole shop after all the muck flew in the windows left open by his predecessor.

Keep popping the old pills in.

LAURENCE A. CUMMINGS

One-Sided Picture?

New York

To the Editors: The author of "The Church in Cuba" [March 7] forgot to mention the Church of those who have been tortured and executed by Castro, the Church of the machine-gunned women and children that tried to escape "paradise," the Church of thousands of families broken up to pieces, and the Church of 10 years of complete totalitarianism.

Here, in the United States, she could have mentioned the Church of the hypocrite Catholic left-intellectuals who do not attack Communist dictatorships because they are afraid of being called "conservatives."

Yours truly, a Cuban who has to remain anonymous because his two brothers are in Cuban prisons.

NAME WITHHELD

A Word for Gardner

Pittsfield, Mass.

To the Editors: W. David Gardner on Catholic Hospitals [Dec. 20] was accurate in reporting on the Pittsfield General-St. Luke's merger. Father Champoux's criticism (Jan. 31) is not. When Father Champoux writes, "Nearly all community-minded Catholics were in favor of the merger," he infers that nearly all Catholics who considered the issue were "community-minded." Such was not the case by a long shot, and if it had not been for Bishop Weldon's aggressive support, many of us who spent hundreds of hours working on the merger (Father Champoux was not among them) doubt that merger would have ever taken place.

Father Champoux says that Pittsfield General and Hillcrest hospitals were "*devoid* of religious overtones." This was (is) not the case, and can be clearly demonstrated. Religious bigotry and rivalry were present on both sides—probably predominantly on the Catholic one. The very fact that the third hospital, Hillcrest, failed to join the merger is overwhelming testimony to how hard small town hospital rivalries and prejudices die.

Father Champoux's statement that "some of us feel there is still need for the Catholic hospital" in itself contradicts his previous point about there being few discordant notes, because I know he believes this "some of us" to be a fairly large and (naturally!) "community-minded" group. The discordant notes may not all have been sounded at trustee meetings Father Champoux attended. They were sounded, however. There are still Catholics willing to divide the community's hospital dollars along religious lines, notwithstanding the odds-on risk of having less than the best for all the people, regardless of denomination.

"Highly irresponsible" is the charge Father Champoux makes against Mr. Gardner. It is an accusation he should use with more care.

LAWRENCE W. STRATTNER, JR.

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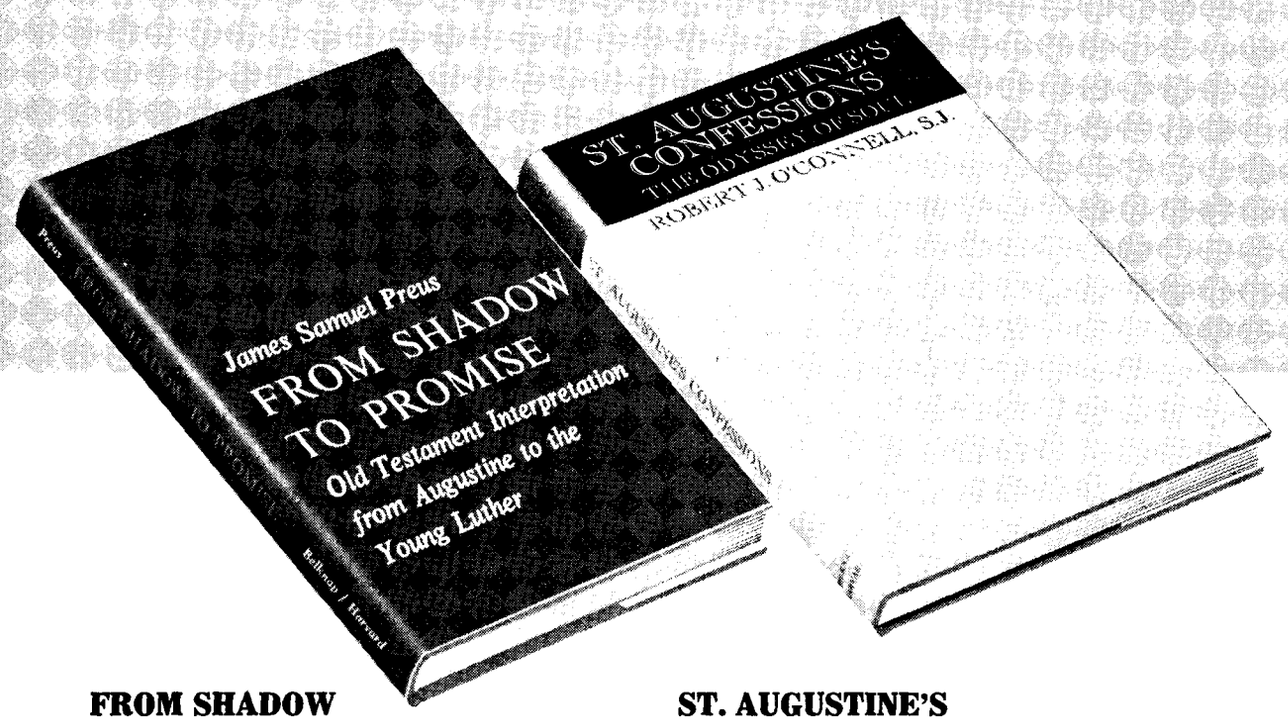
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